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BIND

# America

February 28, 1953  
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NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

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*The press wants to open government records*

J. L. O'SULLIVAN

## The Vatican's policy on U.S. relations

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ROBERT A. GRAHAM

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*"Autonomy" will no longer shield gangsters*

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### **Cautious new Far East strategy**

According to an Associated Press report of Feb. 14, the Chinese Nationalist navy is destined for a build-up in the present U. S. program of military aid for Chiang Kai-shek. The decision to strengthen the Generalissimo's naval forces fits in perfectly with what appear to be the two major trends of the Eisenhower Administration's new Far Eastern policy. The United States, it seems, will shun taking a dramatic alternative to the Korean stalemate, such as blockading the China coast or expanding the war, both because of Allied opposition and because such action would require further commitment of U. S. forces. In fact, it will move in the opposite direction of maximum disengagement of U. S. and Western forces from the Asiatic mainland—without, however, any sacrifice of Allied strength. Up to now the Chinese naval forces operating from Formosa have consisted mainly of destroyer escorts, mine sweepers, gunboats, landing craft and armed, motorized junks. As navies go, this is not much. Yet the Chinese Nationalists have been strong enough to sweep along 600 miles of Communist coast and to land men for limited, harrying raids. The expansion of this force with U. S. help might provide at least a partial answer to the question of blockading Communist China. If it is to be deemed impractical and risky for the United States to attempt such an operation alone, why not let Chiang Kai-shek work toward the same end, even though it would necessarily be on a restricted scale? The chief difficulty would be the inability of the Nationalists to absorb the new equipment rapidly into their hodge-podge navy. Meanwhile, however, we should be giving the Reds something else to worry about. From the President's Feb. 19 press conference it seems clear that his new Far East strategy will avoid taking dangerous risks.

### **Decontrols—and defense costs**

Our new President has acted fast in removing economic controls. In his State of the Union address he said that the time had come to set the economy free, to substitute the law of supply and demand for controls over wages and prices. Action followed swiftly. First came wages and salaries, which were freed of all controls on Feb. 6. Then in quick succession the caretaker Office of Price Stabilization decontrolled meat, clothing, furniture and just about everything sold in department stores; removed price ceilings from rubber, all fuel products (except fuel for homes), poultry and eggs, lead, zinc and a number of minor metals; told manufacturers they could use all the scarce materials they could lay their hands on. When the dust settled, only 13 per cent of the items in the cost-of-living index remained under controls. To soften the shock to consumers, some fast-selling items like cigarettes were kept under curbs, since once ceilings on these commodities go, prices will generally head upward. Prices will rise, too, on such defense items as aluminum, steel and copper as soon as these basic materials are freed. In the popular concern for consu-

## **CURRENT COMMENT**

mers, it has been too little noticed that one effect of the decontrol program will almost certainly be an increase in the cost of the defense effort. Should the increase be at all significant—one unnamed stabilization official thought it could easily amount to a billion dollars—the Administration will find it that much more difficult to balance the budget.

### **Storm over farm policy**

For the most part the business team which Mr. Eisenhower has assembled fully shares his belief in free enterprise, as his Secretary of Agriculture dramatically demonstrated at St. Paul on Feb. 11. In a now famous speech to the Central Livestock Association, whose members were badly worried over declining cattle prices, Mr. Benson calmly observed that lower prices would help to stabilize the market. So far as he was concerned, the only action indicated was one that the cattlemen could take themselves. He advised them to be more orderly in their marketing. As if this was not enough to set the congressional farm bloc sizzling, the Secretary said that he regarded farm price supports as "disaster insurance," and warned that they must not be allowed to encourage surpluses and subsidies. To the farm bloc, that was rank heresy, although the powerful leaders of the American Farm Bureau Federation have been saying somewhat the same thing for the past several years. Already fearful of 1954, and not too sure that the Farm Bureau really speaks for farmers, GOP politicians did their best to cushion the impact of the Secretary's words on their agricultural following. As for the Democrats, not in many years have they been so united on a domestic issue. Dixiecrats and Fair Dealers blended their voices in a chorus of disapproval. What the President thought about his Cabinet colleague's speech the White House did not reveal. During the campaign, Mr. Eisenhower advocated full income parity for farmers. It is not clear how Mr. Benson's words can be reconciled with that policy.

### **Ousting Communist labor leaders**

It seems certain that Congress will make some change in the Taft-Hartley provision for non-Communist affidavits. From the very beginning that feature of the law was widely assailed as being both discriminatory and ineffective. No one now seems to



question that by requiring only labor leaders to file non-Communist affidavits the law is basically unfair. Indeed, Senator Taft has already taken steps to extend the requirement to employers. This change, though desirable, leaves unanswered the other, and more serious, criticism that the affidavit is an ineffective means of breaking the Communist grip on a dozen-odd unions. By now it is abundantly clear that the oath has caused little embarrassment to Communist labor leaders. In some cases it has even helped them to fool the rank and file. To charges that they were Communists, they have been able to reply that their non-Communist affidavits are on file in Washington. Though these affidavits are suspect, in only one case has the Justice Department succeeded in convicting a labor leader of swearing falsely. This is sufficient evidence that, as it stands, the law cannot be enforced. There is more evidence, too. A few months ago, a N. Y. Grand Jury asked leaders of three unions whether they were members of the Communist party. When all refused to reply, invoking their constitutional privilege, the Grand Jury advised the National Labor Relations Board to require these men to repeat their non-Communist oaths. This the board did, only to be stopped by a Federal Court in Washington on the ground that Taft-Hartley gives the Board no power to question non-Communist affidavits. This record of futility suggests that Congress seek another approach to an admittedly serious problem.

#### **Russia balked by Asiatics**

To her surprise, Soviet Russia discovered two weeks ago that she had picked a wrong setting for her customarily unchallenged diatribes against American "imperialism." At the close of a nine-day conference of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) at Bandoeng, Indonesia, the delegates on Feb. 4 voted down, 12 to 1, a Russian proposal that they load their final report with an anti-U. S. amendment. The Soviet Delegate had insisted that ECAFE charge the "United States and other colonial Powers" with hampering the economic development of Asia. Up to the closing minutes of debate the Asian delegates consistently rebuffed other similar Soviet suggestions. Thus ECAFE rejected, 11 to 1 (with Indonesia abstaining) a Soviet amendment denounc-

ing "the arms race of the United States." The commission condemned Russia's use of the veto in barring other Asiatic nations from UN membership. It went on record, 10 to 1 (with Indonesia and Burma abstaining), to recommend that the parent organization, the UN Economic and Social Council, admit to full membership in ECAFE all Asiatic nations "responsible for their own foreign relations." This would include such countries as Japan, Ceylon, South Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam and Nepal. All these nation, Nepal excepted, have various Western ties, because of which Russia has steadily opposed their admission to the UN. Whether these rebuffs to the Soviet Union mark a significant Asiatic trend Westward and away from neutrality in the cold war remains to be seen. One thing is certain. Russia was never given a harder time by countries which have been habitually suspicious of Western motives in Asia.

#### **Church and State troubles: German Socialists**

The old specter of wholly state-controlled schools, which so many Socialists abroad and secularists everywhere would like to embody in state legislation, looms on the German scene. The West German State of Wuerttemberg-Baden, where the government coalition is dominated by the Social Democrats, recently drafted a law which, by introducing the so-called "Christian community" (inter-denominational) school and widening its influence, would to all intents and purposes abolish existing denominational or "confessional" schools. Back in December, Archbishop Aloisius P. Muench, of Fargo, N. D., Papal Nuncio to West Germany, protested that this law violated the German-Vatican Concordat of 1933, which stipulated that confessional schools should continue. His protest is now seconded by such members of the German hierarchy as Archbishop Rauch of Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Bishop Leiprecht of Rottenburg. Catholic organizations in Wuerttemberg-Baden have issued a declaration stating that "the state lacks the right to set up an educational monopoly, forcing parents, physically and morally, to send their children to state schools, contrary to their obligations in conscience and their legitimate desires." Into the fight has stepped Bonn's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who has declared that the West German Government "upholds and will bring to full validity" the 1933 concordat. The constitutional question is whether the concordat is binding on the individual German states. This will have to be fought out in the courts. Meanwhile, it's to be hoped that U. S. High Commissioner James Bryant Conant, whose educational philosophy would seem to incline him to the Socialists' view (cf. AM. 2/14, p. 539-40), will keep discreetly silent.

#### **... Austrian Socialists anti-religious, too**

A particularly vexing Church-State squabble is brewing in Vienna, where once more the Socialists have started the pot boiling. The Socialist-controlled Ministry of Social Welfare, prodded by Socialist-dom-

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inated trade unions, has promulgated a decree under which employees in private hospitals must be paid wages at rates fifty per cent above those in force in public hospitals. It so happens that there are fifteen private hospitals in Vienna, of which eight are Catholic, two Protestant and one Jewish. So it's easy to see for whom the pot boils. Indeed, private hospitals in all of Austria have long borne an unequal burden. Under the system of compulsory health insurance, public hospitals get a refund of about two dollars a day for every patient. Private hospitals receive about twenty-five per cent less. If the projected pay rise in Vienna is not halted, it will set the pattern for the rest of the country and all Catholic hospitals will be in acute financial distress. We have often called attention to the great damage the anti-religious bent of European Socialists does to the cause of freedom. These are the most recent—and typical—examples.

### **Assault on Church in Poland**

News from Poland points unmistakably to a new phase of religious persecution in that predominantly Catholic nation, by far the largest of the Satellites in both area and population. Up to the present it seemed that Poland would be spared the extremes of anti-religious policies now commonplace elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain. But on February 13 the Polish Government published a new decree by which it claimed the right to approve all ecclesiastical appointments and even to dismiss from office those it found violating the laws. No one inside or outside of Poland had any illusions as to just what that meant. The Polish Communist-controlled radio and press had preceded this action by making violent attacks against five bishops. One of these was Archbishop Eugene Baziak of Lwów, vicar capitular of Cracow. He has already been arrested on charges of being an agent of America and the Vatican. It is almost certain, Polish Catholic circles believe, that sensational trials will soon be conducted against the legitimate Church leaders. The way is thus prepared for the Government to install in sees made vacant by its own action those "patriotic priests" who are willing tools of the regime. From that point forward religion will be at communism's mercy. This is the "separation of Church and State" played up with such hypocrisy in the constitutions of the "peoples' democracies."

### **L'Affaire Finaly**

Regrettable and distressing are the only words to describe the case of the disappearance of the two Jewish children in France whom a French court had ordered taken from their Catholic home and given to their Jewish relatives. The story began in 1944 when the Gestapo was scouring the hitherto immune regions of Southern France for Jewish victims. The parents of Robert and Gerald Finaly, sensing only too well their own imminent arrest and death, confided their two children (now 11 and 10) to Miss Antoinette Brun, a Catholic, who conducted a children's home in Gre-

noble. After the war, an aunt of the children, now living in Israel, instituted legal proceedings to obtain custody of them. The protracted litigation culminated in a court order for Miss Brun to turn over the children—who meanwhile had been baptized and raised in the Catholic faith. As of present writing, however, the police have been unable to locate the children. It is not clear by what authority the children had been baptized. As Père Riquet, S.J., told a press conference in Paris, canon law prescribes that children may not be baptized without the consent of their parents. On the other hand, the act of Miss Brun in receiving the two children from their parents at that hour was as courageous as it was dramatic. Since foreigners comment on this case at their own peril, we shall only note as an indication of French Catholic opinion that the Bishop of Grenoble has called upon those concerned to comply with the court's order and that the Catholic members of the national committee of L'Association de l'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, including Robert d'Harcourt, Maurice Vaussard and the Jesuit Père Daniélou, have issued a statement saying that "no end justifies such means." They hope that the final decision will be taken "in the serenity of justice and in the humane interests of the children."

### **Pius XII and the Rosenbergs**

If the intervention of Pope Pius XII in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, sentenced to death by a U. S. court for atomic espionage, excited little comment after the first flurry of surprise, it may well be that the very simplicity of the Pope's motive for acting was the reason for this lack of comment. Those who may have seen political leanings toward fascism in his pleas for condemned Nazi and Fascist criminals after the war's end were silenced by the very impossibility of suspecting the Pope of any least sympathy with communism. The Pope's action was not even a plea for clemency. He simply informed the U. S. Department of Justice that, as *Osservatore Romano* put it, he "had received numerous and urgent appeals for intervention with intercession in behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg." This fact he communicated to the Department "out of motives of charity proper to his Apostolic office, without being able to enter into the merits of the cases." The communication, as the Apostolic Delegate in the nation's capital revealed on Feb. 13, was transmitted informally in December by himself to James P. McGranery, then Attorney General, who was responsible for briefing the President on the arguments for and against granting Executive clemency. The decision to make public the Pope's intervention seems to have stemmed from persistent European Communist charges that he was indifferent to the fate of the Rosenbergs. It was a cruel charge to bring against Pius XII, whose fatherly heart excludes no human being, however unworthy, from its loving solicitude. He has always been an implacable foe of communism. He has seen his bishops and Cardinals imprisoned and degraded by the Communists. Yet

he has reminded the world that, even in administering just and deserved punishment to Communist traitors, we may not forget the charity that binds us all together under God. As Christians, let us pray that the Rosenbergs may prepare for death by sincere repentance.

### **Congress backs small business**

With not a single dissenting voice, the House voted on Feb. 3 to continue its Small Business Select Committee. In the tugging and pulling on Capitol Hill over other issues, we generally overlook the marvelous unanimity which exists there on anything related to the well-being of small business. Whether Republicans or Democrats, Northerners or Southerners, farmers or city folk, our elected representatives all agree that small business is the very salt of the earth and must never be allowed to lose its savor. They may differ on Korea, or NATO, or tidelands oil. But they are as one in believing that 1) "the essence of the American economic system of private enterprise is free competition," and 2) "there is no better assurance of our ability to maintain competition than a flowering community of small and independent business enterprises." The unanimous acceptance of these propositions—which are set down in the final report of the Small Business Committee to the 82nd Congress—explains why during that Congress no less than eighty bills were introduced friendly to small business. That this congressional concern for small business, especially during the rearmament period, has not been ineffective is indicated by the fact that small firms are today producing between 19 and 24 per cent of the dollar volume of all military contracts let in the continental United States.

### **Eisenhower press début**

When it comes to rationing news, the press flies into a journalistic rage. So it was not surprising that White House reporters lapped up the new President's first press conference on Tuesday, Feb. 17. For one thing, it relieved their fear that he might not meet with them regularly. By and large, the newsmen seemed to be well pleased, especially by the President's readiness to work out whatever system would be most convenient and helpful to them. Mr. Eisenhower's manner with the press differs notably from that of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman because he is a very different sort of person. Having set his jaw against "blabbermouths," for example, he said nothing "off the record." Being new to politics, he kept his statements rather general. Nevertheless, he took occasion to quiet the rampant speculation about a blockade of China and to take the steam out of General Van Fleet's talk of what we could do in Korea if we really wanted to. On removing controls, he frankly admitted he was taking a risk and might have to restore them. White House press conferences fill a gap in our political system. Mr. Eisenhower seems to be on the way to making very good use of them.

## **FISCAL PROBLEMS OF THE STATES**

Public attention is presently centered on the problem of balancing the Federal budget, reducing the burden of Federal taxes and ultimately paring down the \$267-billion Federal debt.

Although the burden of State taxation is less than one-seventh that of the Federal load, we should avoid the mistake of thinking that all our tax troubles lie in Washington. The 48 States, even though they do not have to make huge outlays for defense, face fiscal problems closely resembling those of Uncle Sam.

This parallel suggests that certain factors causing governmental costs to rise are at work everywhere. These are our fast-growing population, the continual expansion of government services (as a result of our rising standard of living, etc.), and the inflationary costs of prices and wages. Governments must continually pay more for what they buy, whether goods or services, and they must, it seems, buy more of both every year.

The simple fact is that the total expenditures of the 48 States have more than doubled since 1942—from \$6.24 billion to over \$13 billion. Their total revenues have fallen far short of keeping up with this rise in outgo. They took in \$6.1 billion in 1942 (\$279 million more than they spent), but only \$11.8 billion in 1950 (\$1.32 billion less than they spent). This is true even though almost one-sixth of State income takes the form of Federal aid.

This trend in the States towards spending more money than they take in is continuing this year. Forty-four State legislatures are now in session. Twenty-one of them are working on budgets calling for higher outlays than last year. Only five (including New York and New Jersey) intend to spend less. Connecticut proposes to jump its biennial budget from \$213 to \$252 million. Taxes will have to be raised to meet the over \$38 million increase.

Pennsylvania's two-year budget is up about 14 per cent, to \$1.4 billion. California's one-year budget is up by about 6 per cent, to \$1.42 billion. In view of the swelling enrolments in the public schools, to whose support each State contributes very heavily, the need of raising teachers' salaries, building new schools and hospitals and the ever-present necessity of building and repairing highways, these burgeoning State expenditures are perfectly understandable.

The States and the Federal Government have concurrent powers of taxation under the Federal Constitution. However, the most lucrative "pinch," the graduated income tax levied on individuals and businesses, has been largely pre-empted by Congress. So the States must rely mostly on sales taxes, and then about equally on license and income taxes. For years, tax experts have been calling for a complete overhauling of our tax structure. It is certainly overdue. Before that can be done, however, we need an exhaustive study of the functions and responsibilities of the Federal, State and local governments.

R. C. H.

## WASHINGTON FRONT

Some intriguing political theories are emerging after five weeks of the new Administration. Let us examine a few of these in order.

1. *Tax reduction.* There are really two theories about budgetary problems operating here. One holds that we cannot plan the tax structure until we know how much the Government must spend. The other claims that if we set the amount of Government revenue in advance, then we will be able to figure how much to spend to balance the budget. The first has behind it the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, Senator Taft and Speaker Martin. The second is proposed by Chairman Daniel A. Reed of the House Ways and Means Committee and enthusiastically accepted by practically the whole House and the Senators seeking re-election in 1954.

2. *Farm supports.* Secretary of Agriculture Benson expressed the Administration theory that the New Deal practice of parity payments to farmers results in uneconomic surpluses of production and consequent inordinate Government expense in buying up and storing the surplus of food. He wants a return to the open-market theory of supply and demand.

3. *Price control.* This is connected with No. 2. It is the theory that "direct" controls—price ceilings on retail goods—do not prevent inflation, but that "indirect" controls—the purely fiscal measures of restricting consumer and other credit, raising the interest rate, etc.—will do the job and restore the value of the dollar. This theory is already operating in practice.

4. *Trade, not aid.* The new slogan contains some surprises. Logically, it could mean complete free-tradism—something new for us; practically, it means an extension of the Hull reciprocal-trade agreements with foreign countries. But this Congress is high-tariff in theory and may make trouble.

5. *Taft-Hartley.* The theory-picture here is obscure. Repeal is out. Senator Taft has submitted some of his amendments, as a tactical move. But there are indications that the President himself leans rather to the old Wagner approach—the human-relations one—than to the Taft, or legalistic one. It may be that Secretary of Labor Durkin with his canny persuasiveness may be able to restore the old theory.

6. *Loyalty tests.* This was the first real surprise for incoming officials. They had a neat package of superficially attractive regulations designed to safeguard both national security and personal liberty. But on further inspection the new regulations, viewed in the light of laws Congress had laid down, turned out to involve the same apparently insoluble problems that had plagued Mr. Truman's loyalty program.

These are some oncoming problems which I hope to treat as they come up.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

The celebration in St. Louis of the sesquicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase will begin Mar. 2 with the first of a series of five free public lectures sponsored by St. Louis University. The lecturers will be members of the university's Department of History. Mayor Joseph M. Darst said that "this lecture series, given as the university's opening contribution to the observance, will help greatly to stimulate civic interest and pride in this celebration."

► In a guest editorial in the Lansing, Mich., *State Journal* for Feb. 1, Francis P. Kelly, assistant director of the Michigan Civil Service Commission, urging support of a program to improve and expand the city's public schools, said:

I take personal pride in supporting the public schools of Lansing through paying my just share of taxes . . . At the same time, I enjoy the democratic privilege, as guaranteed by our Constitution, to have my children attend a parochial school.

Noting that parochial schools had saved the city \$608,423 in 1951-52, Mr. Kelly continued: "Catholics are happy to be able to present such a gift . . . to the people of Lansing, and they hope to make the gift larger and even more valuable in the years ahead."

► Msgr. Lawrence B. Casey, rector of the Pro-Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Rochester, N. Y., has been appointed Titular Bishop of Cea and Auxiliary to Most Rev. James E. Kearney, Bishop of Rochester, it was announced Feb. 18 by the Apostolic Delegate.

► Among the topics slated for discussion in the Catholic University's series of Sunday Lenten lectures are: "The Moral Aspects of the McCarran Act," by Rev. John J. Cronin, S.S., assistant director of the Social Action Department, NCWC; "The Morality of the Taft-Hartley Act," by Rev. William J. Kelly, O.M.I., former director of N. Y. State Labor Relations Board; "National Sovereignty and Nationalism under the UN," by Judge Charles Fahy of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

► *My Way of Life*, a digest in prayer-book size of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas, is published by the Confraternity of the Precious Blood, 5300 Hamilton Pkwy., Brooklyn 19, N. Y. (630p. \$1.35). Part I is by the late Walter Farrell, O.P., distinguished Thomistic scholar and author of the four-volume *Companion to the Summa*. Parts II and III are by Rev. Martin J. Healy, professor of dogmatic theology at the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, N. Y.

C. K.

*We are always glad to receive from Catholic colleges, societies, etc., notice of forthcoming programs or events of more than local interest. Such information should reach us at least three weeks in advance.*



## Government's right to withhold information

February 9 is on the way to becoming a date to conjure with. Marshal Stalin's little-noticed address of that date in 1946 sounded the death-knell of East-West cooperation. Senator McCarthy's speech of that date in 1950 launched his anti-Communist crusade. This year, it was on February 9 that Judge Francis L. Valente issued his court order barring the press from the Jelke compulsory-prostitution trial in New York, thus galvanizing the forces of the American press on an issue which has now become acute: the right of government officials to deny public access to information pertaining to public business.

Naturally, we were relieved when Justice Benjamin F. Schreiber of New York State's Supreme Court ruled on February 17 that he was powerless to lift the ban. His opinion helps to clarify the legal issues involved. To lessen the danger of abuse, perhaps the State Legislature should authorize a three-judge commission to decide such questions according to well-defined legislative policy. Sensationalizing of immorality unquestionably harms public morals.

This Review is indebted to Dean Jeremiah L. O'Sullivan of the Marquette University College of Journalism for his report (see pp. 589-91 of this issue) on what he calls the "aggressive 'freedom of information' campaign" the American press is now waging.

The general problem of direct governmental regulation of the press is, of course, centuries old. For the most part American governments have either refrained from excessive interference with freedom of the press or been thwarted by the courts in their ill-advised attempts to interfere. This basic freedom to publish information the press already possesses is not today's problem.

The new threat comes from the power of public officials to prevent the press from gaining access to the information it wants to publish. Our laws allow public officials great discretion either to release or to "suppress" information about the operations of government. This is also an old problem. As is well known, even Congress cannot force the Executive to divulge to it documents belonging to executive departments and agencies. Congressional committees themselves meet in closed sessions, both to conduct intra-committee work and to interrogate witnesses. They regularly withhold from the press information on the public business.

The more governmental action ramifies into our lives, however, the more obnoxious its secret operations become. We have learned to distrust official conduct shielded from public knowledge. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* performed a real service, for example, in forcing disclosure of the names of those who endorsed the parole of a notorious tax-dodger. The same is true of the successful campaign to get the Commissioner of Internal Revenue (who proved very

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cooperative) to reveal the bureau's private settlements of tax-evasion cases.

Everyone agrees that some governmental information must be kept secret, such as that relating to military and diplomatic affairs whenever publication would be against the national interest. The question is where to draw the line and who is to draw it.

Secondly, the problem runs through American governments at all levels—State and local, as well as Federal. It is inherent in the nature of government, especially modern government.

Lastly, the danger of allowing public officials to open or close their records *at will* is a real danger because they are interested parties. It is a danger that cannot be eliminated, but can only be kept under control—by wise legislative policy, honest administration, a responsible press and an alert public.

### Upside down tax policy

The most charitable observation that can be made on the action of the House Ways and Means Committee in approving Rep. Daniel A. Reed's tax-relief bill is that the gentlemen knew not what they did. At this particular juncture in world and domestic affairs, their vote on February 6 was as poorly timed a gesture as can be imagined.

The purpose of the Reed bill is the otherwise laudable one of giving quick relief to the country's burdened taxpayers. After fighting broke out in Korea, Congress imposed an excessprofits tax on business and an average 11-per-cent increase in personal income taxes. It stipulated that the excess profits tax would expire automatically on June 30, 1953, and the income tax on December 31, 1953. Recognizing that it would be politically unpopular to lift the burden from prosperous corporations without giving some relief to individuals, Representative Reed proposes to move forward to June 30 the expiration date on the personal income tax so both tax laws would die on the same early date. That would cost the Treasury between \$1.5 and \$1.8 billion.

The politics the Reed bill reflects is not its most obnoxious feature. Coming at this time, the proposal has the disastrous effect of informing friend and foe alike that there is a limit beyond which the American people will not spend to stop Soviet aggression. *For the unexpressed aim of the Reed bill is to put a ceiling on Federal expenditures.* It amounts to a declaration of intent that the level at which the Federal budget is to be balanced must be determined, not by the needs

of this country and the free world, but by the size of the tax burden which politically-conscious Congressmen think the public is willing to bear.

That approach to fiscal affairs, as Walter Lippmann noted in his column for February 17, has a truly menacing aspect. It adds up to an irresponsible affirmation that the repulse of the aggressor in Korea and Indo-China, the security of the nation and the whole cause of world peace must be subordinated to the convenience of American taxpayers. When the bald truth is stated in this way, the average taxpayer will, we imagine, be insulted by the Reed bill.

How much it will cost during the next fiscal year to stand firm in Korea, to bolster NATO, to wage the cold war successfully, to build our defenses, the Eisenhower Administration has not yet determined. Until the cost is known, there is no responsible means—supposing that the Republicans are sincerely intent on balancing the budget—by which taxes can be reduced. Instead of hastening the expiration date for personal income taxes, Mr. Reed's committee ought to be giving its attention to the possible necessity, mentioned recently by Senator Taft, of extending the excess profits tax at least to December 31. That would be intelligent statesmanship.

The committee vote approving the Reed bill was 21 to 4. For the sake of the record, the four responsible and courageous ballots were cast by one Democrat, A. Sidney Camp of Georgia, and three Republicans, Robert W. Kean of New Jersey, Hal Holmes of Washington and John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin.

To some extent the President supported responsible Congressmen at his press conference on February 7. He reiterated his belief that a balanced budget should precede a tax cut and doubted whether tax relief was possible this year. He even suggested that Congress ought not to allow the excess profits tax to die without providing an alternative source of income. But answering a specific question about the Reed bill, Mr. Eisenhower did not say flatly that he would veto it. Until he does so, his supporters in Congress can slow down the drive for tax relief but they cannot stop it.

## ***Who's shirking -- France, Britain, or the U. S.?***

In the recent spate of visits of various officials from country to country, Americans should not overlook the trip to London made by Premier René Mayer and Foreign Minister Georges Bidault. They spent several days in the British capital conferring with their opposite numbers, Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Eden. The object of their mission was to get assurances of British support of the European Defense Community, which is currently, in Mr. Dulles' phrase, "somewhat stalled." To French eyes, the key to the future of the European Army lies neither in Paris nor in Washington, nor even in Bonn. It lies in

London. If France is today hedging on the defense pacts, one reason is that Britain's own policy is too ambiguous for comfort.

Great Britain is a party to the Atlantic Pact, which extends for twenty-five years. But it is not a party to the projected European Defense Community, slated to continue in force for fifty years. The French therefore fear that after a quarter of a century they will be left with their obligations in the EDC, while Britain regains a free hand with the expiration of NATO. This would mean that France would find herself occupying a secondary role in the EDC on account of the superior manpower and industrial capacity of Germany, without assurance that she could then count upon the military and political aid of Great Britain against a possible revival of German militarism. It is this prospect of being left alone to face Germany that has stalled the pact in the French National Assembly and caused the French Government to insist upon new protocols in the proposed agreement for the European Army.

At the close of the London conversations on February 13 a communiqué was issued by the Foreign Office which said that, after consultation, it was recognized that "continued full support of the United Kingdom for the European Defense Community" was an essential element for the establishment of this community and therefore for the strengthening of the Atlantic alliance. Only the future will tell what this cryptic, not to say ambiguous, statement means in terms of British commitments on the Continent. Without the earlier visit of John Foster Dulles to London the British Government might not have made even that general declaration. Indications now are that the British, in turn, will pass the problems to the United States by proposing to extend the tripartite statement of last May to fifty years. This was to the effect that the three governments would regard a threat from any quarter (meaning Germany) to the integrity or unity of the EDC as a threat to their own security. They also promised to maintain forces on the Continent to defend the NATO area.

Presumably such an extension would satisfy French anxieties. But is the United States prepared to undertake guarantees of this kind for half a century? Thus the projects for the defense of Europe come back to the United States. France holds back from the European Defense Community, intended to integrate Europe strategically, unless it is sure of Britain's help, in or out of the EDC. Great Britain, on the other hand, holds back from such a guarantee unless the United States is associated with it in equal fashion.

These questions will come again to the forefront next month when British-American conversations take place in Washington. Since America's strategic interest in continental Europe is manifest, it should not be difficult to agree on a formula looking towards Anglo-American cooperation, provided Britain is ready to assume the obligations on the Continent our officials believe she should shoulder.

## U. S. initiative in the UN

Where does the United Nations fit in the "new, positive" foreign policy of the Eisenhower Administration? Neither the President nor Secretary of State Dulles has given us more than a hint up to now. There may be method in their silence. It may be a tacit acknowledgement of the distinctive status of the new head of the U. S. mission to the UN, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was appointed to be "one of the Administration's principal advisers and representatives in the formation and conduct of foreign policy." They may be leaving to Mr. Lodge the unveiling in due time of U. S. policy toward the UN.

The fact that Mr. Lodge has been given cabinet rank would seem to indicate that President Eisenhower, for all his silence on the UN, actually attaches more importance to it than did his predecessor.

At any rate, as soon as we see Mr. Lodge in action we shall know not only how important the Administration considers the UN, but how "positive" in that area its new foreign policy will be. The nine items on the agenda of the resumed seventh session of the UN Assembly offer considerable scope for the display of the initiative which the President has promised.

Mr. Lodge, in dealing with the item on Korea, may not urge either a blockade or a tighter embargo (though we fail to see why he should not request the latter). But surely he should demand wider distribution of the burdens of the Korean operation.

We have already expressed the hope that Mr. Lodge will produce new American proposals under the second item, dealing with the report of the Disarmament Commission (AM. 12/13/52, p. 294). The third item, the report of the Collective Measures Committee, has a chapter on embargoes which Mr. Lodge might profitably use should he be embargo-minded.

The Administration's proclaimed intention to wage the cold war more actively will be tested by the fourth and fifth items. Thanks to the superiority of their spokesmen and their staff work, the Soviets have scored more successes in the UN than in any other theatre of that war. To remain indefinitely in a state of paralyzed tension, as the President observed in his State of the Union message, "leaves to the aggressor the choice of time and place and means to cause greatest hurt to us at least cost to himself." The Reds have been the aggressors in the UN, and the news that Andrei Vishinsky will head the Soviet delegation warns us that they will not easily yield the initiative.

Mr. Lodge could take the offensive on the fourth item, the Greek complaint that Soviet Russia and her satellites still refuse to repatriate 3,000 members of the Greek armed forces. That charge has not been exploited since the Assembly first "recommended" on December 1, 1950 the repatriation of the Greeks.

The Communist bloc seized the initiative in the UN cold war by introducing the fifth item, the charge that the United States was "interfering in the internal affairs of other states" by appropriating, under the

Kersten Amendment to the 1951 Mutual Security Act, \$100 million for the formation of anti-Communists into NATO units "or for other purposes." We warned last November (AM. 11/1/52, p. 119) that the Soviets were preparing a propaganda offensive based on this item.

The forthcoming debate will disclose how thoroughly the Administration has thought through the "liberation" policy which it offered during the election campaign as the alternative to the "static, immoral" policy of "containment" of the Truman Administration.

Mr. Lodge may be able to deny the extravagant Red charges of subversion and terrorism made possible by the Kersten appropriation. But he should not rest his defense there. It is time we read into the UN record the correct interpretation of the much-misunderstood "principle of nonintervention" and its application to the Iron Curtain Countries. This is the point at which it is possible to wrest the initiative from Vishinsky. The original and criminal "interference in the internal affairs of other states" occurred when the Soviet Union absorbed the Baltic nations and subsequently swallowed up the "people's democracies." Any intervention to assist the oppressed to regain their independence is not what is called in international law "dictatorial" but "humanitarian"—intervention "by right." We have already cited the principle (AM. 11/29/52, p. 228) on which intervention, even by one state, is permissible:

When it is resorted to for the defense of the higher rights and interests of humanity against barbarity in the absence of an international organization which is juridically organized and capable of keeping order among states (emphasis added).

There is less chance for effective initiatives in the remaining old items: Poland's omnibus proposals for averting war and strengthening peace; the U. S. request for investigation of charges that the UN used bacterial warfare in Korea; the appointment of a Secretary-General; Trygve Lie's report on UN personnel policy.

It is not too late, however, to add items to the agenda of this session. Mr. Lodge has already had distributed to all the delegations the report of the Madden committee of the House on the Katyn Forest Massacre. Presumably, his move is preliminary to placing the matter on the agenda. We earnestly hope so.

Forty-nine American leaders have asked that the U. S. delegation bring to the Assembly's attention the recent outbreak of anti-Semitic violence in the Soviet Union. This should be a separate item, not, as Israel reportedly plans, simply a rebuttal in the debate on the charges of U. S. interference. Furthermore, it seems preferable for the United States to introduce it, rather than Israel, and most certainly rather than Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, the Dominican dictator turned UN delegate. We shudder to think how Vishinsky would riddle him with *ad hominem* charges.

Those are two opportunities for dynamic American initiative in the cold war on the East River. We trust Ambassador Lodge to make the most of them.



# Conflict over "freedom of information"

J. L. O'Sullivan

INDIVIDUAL NEWSPAPERS and organizations representing the press have been engaged in an especially aggressive "freedom of information" campaign directed mainly toward opening up government records for public inspection. The campaign received its impetus from Section 10 of the Atomic Energy Act signed by President Truman on August 1, 1946. "Since that day," declared Nat S. Finney, editorial editor of the Minneapolis *Star*, in the Sigma Delta Chi address at the University of North Dakota on November 8, 1951, "we have not had a free press in the United States."

President Truman's Executive Order 10290 of September 24, 1951 allowed any agency of the Federal Government, civilian or military, to withhold news if the head of the agency believes that national interest would be served thereby. This order was criticized violently by the press. *Editor and Publisher*, trade publication for the newspaper industry, said: "Publishers and others have labeled this as a cover-up scheme by which inefficiency or worse could be hidden." On October 4, 1951 Mr. Truman issued a defense and clarification of his executive order.

Most active in the campaign against Executive Order 10290 have been the American Society of Editors, the Associated Press Managing Editors Association and Sigma Delta Chi, the professional fraternity of journalists.

## ACTION IN THE UN

In addition, at the suggestion of the United States, the United Nations six years ago began consideration of a convention to protect all persons in the world in their efforts to seek and receive information. The UN Human Rights Commission appointed a twelve-man subcommittee on Freedom of the Press and Information to prepare a draft declaration. After seventeen revisions, the document has come to center almost entirely on the press, with so many restrictions written in that editors and diplomatic representatives of the United States have regretted the proposal. Carroll Binder, editorial editor of the Minneapolis *Tribune* and U. S. representative on the twelve-man subcommittee, recommended that this country no longer cooperate in preparing the convention. He declared:

Most of the members of the subcommittee had no understanding of what freedom means. Few countries agree in practice with the United States concepts of freedom of the press. The effort started to spread our concepts of freedom of information, but now, of necessity, has become an attempt to safeguard our views. There is no pos-

Dean O'Sullivan of Marquette University here presents a report on the campaign being waged by the American press against the withholding of information by public officials. Against his own ten-year background as reporter, city editor and correspondent, Dean O'Sullivan, for 25 years head of Marquette's College of Journalism, takes issue with what he regards as a one-sided view of the problem.

sibility of committing the United Nations to our concepts and our main effort must be directed to prevent the United Nations from adopting any kind of convention on the flow of information.

Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the *Oregon Statesman*, Salem, Ore. and former Governor of that State, represented the United States at the last session of the UN General Assembly in 1952 when the freedom of information treaty was discussed. Action on the proposal was postponed by a tie vote. However, Mr. Sprague in a statement to American publishers and radio newsmen predicted that an international treaty on freedom of information will be written. He urged that the United States cooperate in redrafting the declaration, thus differing sharply with Mr. Binder.

## ACCESS TO PUBLIC RECORDS

From statements of spokesmen for U. S. newspapers, it is difficult to determine just what they mean by "freedom of information." Assuming that they refer only to government information, are no limits to be placed upon inspection and publication of government records? Some of these spokesmen say that they are willing to have information restricted if it involves national security, but otherwise they want all records opened for public inspection and publication.

"Official records are public records," wrote Victor Jose of the *Palladium*, Richmond, Ind., in an article printed in the *Quill*, official organ for Sigma Delta Chi. He quoted Wray Fleming, counsel for the Hoosier Press Association, as saying: "We believe there are no private papers in government. If one or more government officials have access to a document other citizens have as much right to it, or it is private and nobody, including the government, has any right to it."

Continuing, Mr. Jose said: "Whenever we do make exceptions by means of law for reasons we thought very good, we get into trouble sooner or later."

There are now many government documents that are not open for public inspection. These include: Federal income-tax returns; proceedings of State juvenile courts and some other court records, Social Security and Veterans' Administration files, some reports to the Federal Trade Commission and reports of investigative bodies such as the FBI and the CIA. In spite of this, Harvey Schwander, city editor of the *Milwaukee Journal*, in a panel discussion on December 10, 1952 under the auspices of Sigma Delta Chi, said: "We want to know about everything. We want all the information except that which truly endangers national security, and I mean truly."

Alexander F. Jones, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said in 1951, in urging the passage of legislation to permit the press to have access to Federal records:

No official of government is legally bound to give out information except that which he may deem "in the public interest." I suggest that the obtaining of legal rights from our Federal Government, within security limits, should be the end toward which we all work.

James F. Pope, executive editor of the Louisville *Courier Journal* and Louisville *Times*, and chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Editors, has declared:

Our policy has been to attack, attack, attack. For that reason our committee became the journalistic equivalent of the Four Horsemen of Notre Dame and I have myself come to resemble a galloping ghost incessantly loping here and there across the field but never scoring a touchdown. For two and one-half years I have rambled across the country warning newspaper men and their readers of the dangerous amount of ground that we have lost in the endless battle for access to all news of government.

Owing to the work of the various organizations and individual journalists, some records that were of vital public concern and that had been kept secret were opened for public inspection and publication. These include loan lists of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Housing Authority, and reports on compromises of Federal income tax claims. Also, the Office of Price Administration was induced to rescind the order restricting publication of information that might be "embarrassing to the agency."

Blair Moody, former U. S. Senator from Michigan and for many years Washington correspondent for the *Detroit News*, headed a special subcommittee set up to study the operations of Executive Order 10290. Senator Moody reported that "if the stated purposes of the President's Executive Order are followed . . . the order will not improperly restrict the issuance of information to the press."

The report said that there were a few categories "in which the withholding of nonsecurity information may be justified. However, it should not be implied that the Government agencies have the right to withhold nonsecurity information unless public interest is clearly involved."

Because of bitter criticism of the Executive Order by the press, Senator Moody's committee extended a general invitation to journalists to submit instances of unjustified withholding of facts. Senator Moody reported that, considering how widespread the adverse comments on the order had been, "few complaints were received."

His report differed sharply from the resolution adopted by the 1951 national convention of Sigma Delta Chi, which declared that the executive order "duplicates in the name of national security the practices of totalitarian states." This brought a protest from Joseph H. Short, press secretary to President Truman and a reporter for many years. He said that he was shocked by the false and misleading statements in the fraternity's resolution.

One of the most bitter fights over opening of public records to inspection and publication occurred in Indiana over the right to inspect and publish the records of people receiving public relief. A Sigma Delta Chi resolution on that controversy said that "while welfare records should not be published without good reason," it felt that those with a legitimate reason, including newsmen, "should have access to the welfare rolls to check suspected chiseling and waste of public funds."

Some representatives of the press have sought to identify the interests of the press with the public interest. The 1952 Sigma Delta Chi report on freedom of information declared: "We have the right to question those who say they don't trust reporters or newspapers. We must ask if they mean they do not trust the public."

Another journalist speaking on this subject said that the newspapers are the "representatives of the people."

Apparently all spokesmen for the press are in agreement that news involving national security should be restricted. However, beyond that there seems to be no accord on the principles of inspection and publication. There has been considerable insistence upon the right to inspect and publish all government records except those dealing with national security. Obviously this would be contrary to the traditional policy followed in this country of withholding some public records.

#### WHO IS TO DECIDE?

The newspaper reporters and editors apparently believe they are the ones who should make the decision whether or not it would be contrary to public interest to publish certain records. Under such a system it is obvious that the government official would abdicate to the journalist some of the responsibility he had previously exercised.

Much is made by newspaper representatives of the well-recognized fact that dishonesty and corruption flourish in secrecy. But that is true not only of the government official but also of the editor or reporter who is on the public payroll or who misuses information which comes to his attention. Not all human virtue is found in newspaper offices, and not all corruption in government bureaus.

A recent decision by the Supreme Court of Arizona held that the courts should make the final decision



on whether State governmental documents should be made available to newspapers. The court held that the Governor should be given the authority in the first instance to deny the right of inspection if he thinks a document is confidential, or if he thinks it detrimental to the interests of the State to permit its contents to become known. However, his determination should not be final. According to this ruling, the decision on what records are confidential and what are privileged rests with the courts. The decision was made in a suit by the *Arizona Daily Star* to compel release of a report by the Attorney General.

Most government officials are more immediately responsible to the people than are publishers, writers and editors. The voters have a chance to hold them to a full accounting at least once every four years. An example of flagrant suppression of information needed by the public was recorded in Waukesha, Wis., during the past year. The sheriff refused to allow representatives of the *Waukesha Freeman* to see records of accidents and other official reports. He was defeated in the election last November.

The journalists argue that the public has a check upon them and that if they do not fulfil their public trust and print the news the people need, readers will stop subscribing to their papers. However, some incompetent and notorious publications have maintained large circulations and become financial successes. Also, readers of newspapers in most communities have no choice. There is only one newspaper and if readers wish news of local events, they are obliged to subscribe to that paper. Large circulation is certainly no standard by which to judge the quality of a newspaper.

#### MORE STUDY NEEDED

Publishers and their representatives should be willing to give the time and thought necessary to working out principles, based upon the common good, to govern publication of official government records and conduct their campaign for freedom of information with due regard for those principles. Otherwise they may meet the same defeat they met in the UN.

The problem involved in the freedom-of-information campaign is one of rights—the right of the newspapers to inspect and publish government records; the right of government officials to suppress certain records and publish others; the right of the people to know, and the right of some individuals to have certain dealings with the government kept private and secret.

Without question, many government officials have abused their powers and sought to transact business in star-chamber sessions and maintain secrecy regarding actions which were of public interest and concern. Scores of newspapers have experienced unwarranted difficulties in obtaining information that was vital to their readers. Graft and corruption in government has been clothed in secrecy. But the problem will not be solved by Mr. Pope and his colleagues galloping about the country scoring no touchdowns. Nor can court

decisions, as some contend, be made on each particular case as it arises.

We have here a general politico-moral problem which, it seems to me, involves two distinct questions. First, is free public access to government records always in the public interest? And second, if it is not, who is to determine when the press is to have free access to public records and when not? The Jelke case in New York has brought this issue to the fore in the framework of a sensational trial. Since the principles involved are not well understood, perhaps Catholic political scientists, journalists and moralists might make a cooperative effort to formulate them. The problem is much too important to be left hanging in the air.

## *The Vatican's policy on U. S. relations*

*Robert A. Graham*

IT IS NOW CLEAR that when Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce goes to Rome as United States Ambassador to Italy she might as well be a thousand miles away as far as diplomatic relations with the Vatican are concerned. The unfounded newspaper speculation over her possible dual role in the Eternal City was effectively squelched by the forthright editorial appearing on the front page of *L'Osservatore Romano* for February 12. But the same editorial also made some other points and revealed hitherto unknown facts and documents concerning U. S.-Vatican relations which have not yet received all the attention they deserve. Although not everything that appears in the Vatican newspaper can be called official, or even semi-official, the tone and content of the February 12 contribution leave little doubt that it represents the considered policy of the Secretariat of State of His Holiness.

The editorial can, in fact, be regarded as the most comprehensive authoritative summation yet made of the Vatican's position on the issue of diplomatic relations with the United States. Some of the more important clarifications are the following:

1. The Holy See does not wish to see a repetition of the Rooseveltian formula of a "personal representative." Today, said the newspaper, it is evident that there could be "no question of anything but an official and stable diplomatic representation." The editorial did not say, however, as one correspondent said it did, that the Taylor mission was a failure. It was rather an exceptional expedient adopted during an exceptional period.

2. The initiative regarding U. S.-Vatican relations is being left entirely to the free decision of the United

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States. On this subject, the editorial printed excerpts from a hitherto unpublished letter sent by the Holy Father to President Truman under date of July 10, 1952, where this is unequivocally stated. It is good that this papal assurance has become a matter of public record. It will serve to demonstrate that if and when any formal diplomatic relations are decided upon it will not be because of any pressure from the Holy See. Washington already knows that American Catholics have followed a "hands-off" policy on the issue and cannot be blamed for the periodic bursts of bigotry manifested in certain quarters over it.

3. The objection on the score of "separation of Church and State" is irrelevant to the question of diplomatic relations. Such relations with the Holy See "do not touch the liberty and the independence of either the Church or the State in any way." As the editorial points out, a number of states which live under a regime of separation at home find this no obstacle to having formal relations with the Vatican. On the contrary, such relations "favor that reciprocal respect and that mutual collaboration which are a source of peace and prosperity for all." It is obvious that the Vatican can accommodate itself to the American system at least as well as the United States accommodates itself to different systems abroad.

4. The American system of Church-State relations did not, in any case, prevent the United States from having at the Vatican a chargé d'affaires in the person of Harold H. Tittmann, whose appointment was officially communicated to the Holy See. This was during the war, when Mr. Tittmann remained in the territory of the Vatican State with diplomatic status ("*con la sua qualifica diplomatica*") from December, 1941 until 1944.

#### EVIDENCE FROM ROOSEVELT ARCHIVES

This is a revelation. The State Department has never admitted that Mr. Tittmann was ever more than special assistant to the personal representative of the President, Myron C. Taylor. The Vatican apparently maintains that, at least while he enjoyed sanctuary in Vatican City, he had a true diplomatic status in virtue of special accreditation.

This latter contention is supported by a document in the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park, to which Rev. Martin Hasting, S.J., of St. Louis University has kindly called my attention. This is a memorandum sent by Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, to the President on December 17, 1941. He called Mr. Roosevelt's attention to the fact that the Italian Government might raise strong objection to the continued residence of Mr. Tittmann in Vatican City unless he received some official diplomatic status. Mr. Welles goes on:

The Secretary [Cordell Hull] agrees with me that it is of very great importance that Tittmann remain in the Vatican City so that we may continue contact through him with the Holy See. If we ascertain that the Vatican will have to give in to Italian pressure and agree to have Tittmann

leave, it seems to me that you will wish to consider favorably Tittmann's designation as chargé d'affaires in order to avoid this result.

The President accepted this recommendation and authorized the appointment (*President's Secretary's File, Italy-1941*. With permission of Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library).

The State Department's denials are disingenuous from the viewpoint of international relations. In our desire to keep Mr. Tittmann in that extremely important post we exposed the Vatican to complaints and reprisals from Italy, while endangering at the same time the position of the bona fide diplomats.

This episode is typical of U. S.-Vatican relations to date. We gain much and give little. Today the papal liberality to us in the humiliating post-Pearl Harbor days is rewarded by violent attacks from extreme elements among Protestants, without one word of defense from the State Department.

## AFL meets a challenge

*Benjamin L. Masse*

TO ONE WHO HAS BEEN FOLLOWING the trade-union movement for a decade and more, few events have been so heartening as the ultimatum of the AFL Executive Council to the racket-infested International Longshoremen's Association (A.M. 2/14, p. 525). While that action may not rank in importance with U. S. labor's world-wide fight against Soviet imperialism, or in dramatic quality with the CIO's ouster of its Communist-dominated affiliates, it will stand, I think, as one of the most courageous decisions ever taken by an official body of the Federation.

For the decision to crack down on the lifetime president of ILA, Joseph Ryan, rather than tap him lightly on the wrist, was a very difficult one for the council members to make.

Rightly or wrongly, all our organized economic groups are loath to criticize or discipline one of their erring members, especially when the erring member has fallen afoul of the law, or has become an object of public execration. By the rough-and-ready ethical standards which prevail in the market place, an organization which turns on a member in such circumstances is deemed guilty of breaching the code of fraternal loyalty, guilty almost of kicking a brother when he is down.

Accepted uncritically, this code is of course a mistaken one. It has the effect of placing the welfare of an individual above the common good of society, and even above the best interests of the organization's members. Nevertheless its compelling power is exceedingly strong, and it takes a high degree of moral courage to break it. The fifteen men who condemned

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"Joe" Ryan at the Miami meeting of the council had all sat with him in happier days, had together with him suffered many trials and tribulations—and a few triumphs—had struggled shoulder to shoulder with him over the years to defend the rights of workers and advance their well-being. Such memories are not easily erased.

In Mr. Ryan's case the action was the harder to take because the council was acutely aware that not all the sins of the New York waterfront could by any means be laid on the doorstep of ILA. To punish ILA risked deepening the false impression, already created by some of the press coverage of the N. Y. State Crime Commission hearings, that union leaders are almost alone to blame for the corruption on the docks, and that businessmen, politicians and law-enforcement agencies are, if guilty at all, guilty only in minor and not very dishonorable ways.

Still another obstacle had to be overcome before the council could order the ILA to clean house by April 30 or face the consequences. The consequences of such an ultimatum were likely to be—though in a different way—as unpalatable to the council members as they would be to Joe Ryan.

When it dispatched the ultimatum, the council was morally certain that the ILA would not be able to meet the reform deadline. In fact, it knew that the ILA was incapable of self-reform, regardless of a time limit. How could the officials of an organization be expected to oust all those who had taken gifts or bribes from employers, or who had appointed men with criminal records to union jobs, as the council insisted, when the officials themselves, with few exceptions, were guilty of these practices?

So the council knew when it called Mr. Ryan and his henchmen on the carpet that the struggle to delouse unionism on the New York waterfront had only begun. They foresaw that to make the ultimatum effective, they would have to appeal to the next AFL convention, not merely to suspend ILA, but to expel it and grant its jurisdiction to another group.

#### SUSPENSION NOT ENOUGH

Merely to suspend ILA would satisfy neither the demands of justice, nor the trade-union honor of the council members. Suspension would, it is true, disassociate the AFL from the corruption on the docks, and thus preserve the Federation's good name, but it would not bring clean and decent unionism to the exploited members of ILA. Rather it would have the effect of abandoning them to the continued misrule of their discredited leadership, thus destroying their last hope of deliverance.

If the council was to act at all in the ILA case, it had to face the probability, the certainty rather, that the ultimate sanction of expulsion would eventually have to be invoked. But invoking this ultimate sanction raised the specter of a protracted struggle for control of the docks, a struggle against notoriously tough men, a struggle that would be expensive and

even physically dangerous. For the council had to assume that if the convention expelled ILA and took away its jurisdiction over the docks, the Ryan regime would fight to the bitter end any AFL-supported group that tried to supplant it.

Could the AFL win such a fight without the strong support of dockside employers and local law-enforcement agencies? And would that support be forthcoming?

Even though it could not be sure of the answer to those questions, the council voted unanimously to proceed against the Ryan administration.

#### THE AUTONOMY OF AFFILIATES

There was yet another reason inhibiting bold action by the council, perhaps the strongest reason of all. Tradition is a powerful, ever-present force in AFL affairs, especially among the veteran members of the council, and no part of this tradition is more sacred to them than the belief in the autonomy of every national and international affiliate. The AFL is a voluntary *federation* of independent unions. To preserve its character as such, as well as the freedom of each affiliate to manage its own affairs, the founding fathers denied to the Executive Council all police and disciplinary functions whatsoever. They thought in that way to guarantee that no group of men at the top would ever be able to seize dictatorial powers and destroy the voluntary, democratic character of the AFL.

How could the members of the council proceed against the officers of ILA without doing violence to the principle of autonomy, and even to the AFL constitution?

The solution finally hit upon was as ingenious as it was constructive.

The council did not abolish the principle of autonomy. According to the text of the ultimatum, the council "has no intention of changing the traditional position of the AFL in regard to the freedom and autonomy of its affiliated units."

But it did vote to *redefine* autonomy. It said that hereafter no affiliate would be able to use autonomy as a cloak to shield dishonest or undemocratic union practices. As the council explained:

The exercise of autonomy by affiliated units in an organization such as ours presupposes the maintenance of minimum standards of trade-union decency . . .

AFL affiliates have autonomy in the conduct of their affairs, but it must be conceded by all *that there is an unwritten law that this freedom of action must be used to advance the interests of labor and not to exploit the workers* (emphasis added).

The council set down four minimum standards of decency as dictated by this "unwritten law":

1. No union officer may accept a gift or bribe from an employer.
2. No union officer may appoint to office anyone with a criminal record.

3. Union representatives with criminal records must be immediately discharged.

4. Democratic procedures must be so maintained that the members remain free at all times to select the officers who are to govern them.

The all-important point to note here is that these standards apply universally. They qualify the historic autonomy of all AFL affiliates. Should any affiliate henceforth fail to measure up to them, it can expect the same treatment the council meted out to ILA.

Yet, despite this "redefinition" of autonomy, the council managed to preserve the complete democratic character of the AFL. Though it can call an affiliate to task, it cannot on its own authority impose any effective sanction. For this it must still appeal to a national convention.

For more than a year now the country has been talking a lot about the decline in public morality. To the extent that this decline is real, it is by no means restricted to government. It can be verified in non-governmental groups as well. In varying degrees, all these groups have grown flabby with the times. They all need a good moral shaking up. The AFL is no horrible exception in a high-minded world.

We are all in this together. We should realize that this country cannot survive the present challenge to its freedom and security unless we, the citizens, in our public as well as our private lives, daily live up to the lofty moral code on which the American way of life rests. To have asserted the primacy of that code in so far as it applies to labor is the significance of what the AFL Executive Council has done.

## Austria: parties, policies, prospects

Roland Hill

LATE LAST FALL a film première took place in Vienna which more than any other political event engaged the Austrian public. The performance was attended by the Austrian President, members of the Government and representatives of the occupation Powers with the exception of Soviet Russia.

The film, called *First of April in the Year 2000*, is a piece of hilarious parody about the present Austrian situation. A newly elected Austrian President proclaims as his first public act in the year 2000 the sovereignty and independence of his country. After fifty years of occupation, the news is hardly believable at first; then there is an outbreak of general rejoicing

Mr. Hill, a member of the editorial staff of the London Tablet, gives a picture of Austria on the eve of the February 22 elections.

and all Vienna goes dancing in the streets, as we should expect. However, the Security Council intervenes; the President is accused of having endangered world security. But the four High Commissioners testify on his behalf. After all, they have now met for fifty-three years—this, incidentally, is their 2,187th session on the Austrian Peace Treaty—and they can give assurances of Austria's peaceful intentions.

Renowned for their political wisdom, the Austrians got out of their international difficulty by marrying one of their Archdukes to the daughter of another reigning monarch. (At the première, an impatient spectator shouted from the gallery at this moment: "If Truman's daughter married Stalin's son, perhaps we would have peace at last.") Finally, an old and forgotten document is found: the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943, signed by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, according to which Austria as the first victim of Hitler aggression was promised peace and independence as soon as the war was ended. "If that is so," declares the World Tribunal, "there is no more to be done but for the occupation forces to go home and leave the Austrians alone." And all ends happily with songs, except for the final announcement: "All this happened on the first of April in the year 2000. Unfortunately, we are still in the year 1952."

It was not a very good film, but both its story and reception illustrate the happy combination in the Austrian character of optimism, *joie de vivre* and a resigned skepticism. Adaptable, irresolute, naturally conservative and not given to ostentatious behavior, the Austrians have made the best of an intolerable occupation of now nearly eight years. Their economic position remains precarious, but if there are still people who say that little Austria is not a viable proposition, they have been proved wrong by three factors. These are, first, the industry of the population; second, foreign aid; and third, the political discipline of the Austrian people, expressed in a coalition government of Socialists and the Catholic People's party (Oe.V.P.), which has had the support of the trade unions and the industries.

Nevertheless, the country is suffering heavy losses from the dismantled industries, occupation costs, and especially from taxation in the Soviet-controlled plants and Soviet-exploited oil industry. The oil losses amount to twenty-three million dollars annually, or fifty-three per cent of the total production, far exceeding the financial assistance which Austria has received from UNRRA, Marshall Aid and other sources.

Austria with its seven million inhabitants has to support today about 200,000 unemployed, some 250,000 *Volksdeutsche* (refugees from German-speaking territories in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia) and some 40,000 non-German-speaking refugees and displaced persons. There are still 50,000 people living in camps. Their total integration into the Austrian economy, even under the promising "Jaeger Plan," constitutes a problem naturally exceeding the Government's capacities.



## THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

It is surprising that communism has not prospered more in these conditions. The Austrian Communist party is quite insignificant as a political factor, despite Soviet support, and discredited under its official designation. That is why the party entered the election campaign disguised as a "People's Opposition." With only five seats in the present Parliament (and 212,650 votes in 1949) there is no chance for an Austrian variety of a People's Democracy, but Communist methods are becoming more ingenious. Sudden moves of households of party members to districts in Vienna where the political balance is in the scales were recently noted. In the western provinces, particularly in Styria and Upper Austria, where the Soviet presence has not been felt at first hand, the Communists hope to gain votes through their "Democratic Union" with left-wing Socialists, and especially at this time of the year when unemployment is heaviest. This "Democratic Union," with the indomitable Professor Joseph Dobretsberger as "non-Communist" intellectual leader, proclaims a "true patriotism"—and means Austrian neutrality on Soviet terms. But it can count on the political innocents alone.

The term "neo-nazism" must be used with considerable caution both in Germany and Austria. The Austrian "Nationale Liga," for instance, is a camouflaged Communist organization. Others, like the "Independents," now allied to the "Junge Front" and led by Ernst Strachwitz, a former member of the Catholic People's party, represent a variety of different and sometimes opposed interests in the provinces, and for that reason cannot expect to exceed their spectacular success at the last elections. But, whether they are inspired by pan-German or Nazi ideas, or appeal to the younger generation of ex-soldiers, their danger for the political future of Austria lies in the fact that the People's party is practically alone in bearing the brunt of their attacks.

It is unfortunate that the Socialists concern themselves almost exclusively with opposing the Communists, for the force of the really democratic parties is thereby severely weakened. Moreover, as Government parties, both the Socialists and the Oe. V. P. have to tread carefully where the interests of the occupation Powers are involved. They must prudently refrain from decisions and policies which they might like to put forward.

However, despite their fundamental ideological differences the two parties have had to engage in a compromise policy by sheer compulsion of circumstances. The Oe. V. P. (with 77 seats in the Austrian Parliament and 1,844,850 votes at the election of October 9th, 1949) now appears to have overcome the internal crisis which followed last year's Presidential election, when a Socialist candidate was chosen. Broadly based upon the support of peasants and bourgeois industrial groups, the Catholic party is confident of retaining its leading position. It has been strengthened by two factors in particular. There is

first what is largely a psychological, not a real, change in the Austrian economic situation. A new price policy substantially increased the wheat and rye deliveries from the farms. Austrian foreign trade made great progress in 1952, and the Nationalbank reserves rose by nearly 275 per cent. A savings policy which has learned something, it seems, from M. Pinay in France, and measures to save the Austrian schilling were given priority.

No less important is the growing influence of Catholics in this party. The 1952 *Katholikentag* was an impressive criterion of their present social and political strength. It showed the Catholic faith as a vigorous factor in the life of Austria. The old anti-clericalism, at one time the core of Austrian Socialism, is on the wane. The *Katholikentag* even rated a few favorable comments in the Socialist press, which would have been unthinkable twenty years ago. But on the whole, Socialist policy remains unchanged in its opposition to the Catholic demands for new school and marriage laws. The Socialists are likely to add to their following in Vienna, but not in the western provinces. They cannot expect an over-all majority in Parliament, where they hold sixty-seven seats at the moment. Everything points to the conclusion that the present coalition arrangement will continue in one form or another. There is little chance for a coalition between the People's party and the right wing groups, for such a Government would be at a great disadvantage in its dealings with the occupation Powers, and in carrying out its administration in the Soviet Zone.

## THE ELECTIONS OF FEBRUARY 22

The unknown factors in the coming elections are the political allegiance of about half a million refugees, now naturalized Austrians, and new young voters, and also the inevitable loss of prestige which a Government in office for over seven years is only too likely to suffer. That is why the People's party during the electoral campaign has appealed to its supporters not to allow themselves to be influenced by resentments and ill-feelings but—as the *Volksbote* put it recently, "by reason and the dictates of conscience, so that as large a number as possible of men and women will be elected who can guarantee a policy based on Christian principles."

This, undoubtedly, is Austria's one hope for the future. The country needs leaders whose presence in the Government will be a guarantee of stability and firmness. Austria's just claim to independence was again impressed upon the free world when her Foreign Minister, Dr. Karl Gruber, pleaded his country's cause before the United Nations last December. He was supported by forty-eight nations. If this was a moral, not a political victory, it has certainly proved to the Austrian people that their sufferings have not been forgotten. "Austria," the great Abraham a Sancta Clara wrote, "is the Easterland, because always, even after the bloodiest and most terrible Calvary, it may experience a new Easter, a new resurrection."

# Middle East tug-of-war

Vincent S. Kearney

TWO APPARENTLY UNRELATED EVENTS in recent weeks have momentarily shifted cold-war attention from Europe and the Far East to the Mediterranean area. On February 12 Great Britain and Egypt signed an agreement which gave the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the right to determine its own political future. On the same day the Kremlin broke off diplomatic relations with Israel. Thus, while Britain and Egypt were busy discovering the solution to perhaps the touchiest of the varied problems which have confronted them in the postwar Middle East, Russia made its first overt attempt at wooing Arab sympathies by projecting its current anti-Semitic policy right into that region.

The problem of what to do with the Sudan—the vast, little-known region south of Egypt's border—has been the least tractable of those confronting Britain and Egypt as they have jockeyed for securer positions in the Middle East. The two have governed the Sudan since 1899 by a unique form of joint rule known, for want of a better name, as a condominium. Both have had strong interests in retaining (preferably to the exclusion of the other) at least some semblance of the control they have exercised for more than fifty years. Yet what sparked the final Anglo-Egyptian accord was mutual recognition of the sudden emergence of an interested third party—the Sudanese themselves.

According to the terms of the agreement signed by Egyptian Premier Mohammed Naguib and British Ambassador Sir Ralph Stevenson, the Sudanese will be given a three-year period of home rule. During this time military and civil authority will remain in the hands of the British Governor General, but subject to supervisory control by a new commission composed of one Pakistani, one British, one Egyptian and two Sudanese members. At the end of the interim period the Sudanese Parliament will draw up a draft law for the election of a constituent assembly. The Sudanese will then be free to choose either independence or union with Egypt.

A third alternative, membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, became the subject of hot Anglo-Egyptian dispute soon after the agreement was signed. It is likely to remain purely academic, however, since not even the British expect the Sudanese to vote in favor of joining the Commonwealth.

Of the two countries long engaged in the dispute over the disposition of the Sudan, Egypt stands to lose more by the accord. Britain went on record a relatively long time ago as favoring self-determination for the Sudanese. The political opportunists of past Egyptian Governments, however, have used the dispute as a pretext for harrying the British and keeping the Middle East pot boiling by consistently demanding

the "unity of the Nile Valley"—in other words, forcible unification of the Sudan with Egypt. They based their demands on the false argument that racial, cultural and ethnical similarities called for the natural integration of the two countries. Uppermost in their minds, however, was the determination permanently to rid the Nile Valley of British influence and to insure Egyptian control over the allocation of the Nile waters.

Geographically, the Sudan serves as a huge funnel in which the Blue and White Niles meet to be channeled northward into agricultural Egypt. The Sudan might ultimately vote for complete independence and then carry further, without regard to Egyptian interests, long-range irrigation projects, begun as early as 1913 by the then predominantly British Government. Egypt could then quite conceivably be faced with the greatest danger that ever threatened her prosperity—the exhaustion of her water supply.

Premier Naguib's agreement to cooperate with the British in preparing the Sudanese for self-determination is an indication that he is aware of the far more serious threat of Communist expansionism in the Middle East. As he himself expressed it, the Sudanese agreement "turns a new page" in Anglo-Egyptian history. It is definitely a turn toward the West in the cold war and should pave the way for far broader cooperation. Optimistic observers tend to look for agreement on British evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone and on general plans for Middle East defense: in short, for a Westward orientation of the whole area.

Russia, by recalling its diplomatic mission from Israel, ostensibly in retaliation for the bombing of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv, has at last overtly entered the battle for the Middle East. It should be remembered that five years ago Russia just as openly antagonized the Arab world by championing the cause of Israel, when she became one of the first governments to recognize the new state. Her present anti-Zionist policy is in strange contrast to her proposal of several years ago to establish a Russian homeland for Jews.

Russia changes her spots so often that it is impossible to get at all the complicated motives behind her shifts of policy. Her recent antagonism toward Israel, however, certainly has one purpose in view. The Soviets are bent on keeping the Arab-Israeli conflict alive by proving to the Arabs that they can count on at least one declared anti-Zionist friend. Whether or not the new Soviet anti-Zionist façade is the prelude to a move into the Middle East power vacuum, it bodes no good either for the Arabs or the Israelis.

After five years there are still no signs that the Arab-Israeli antagonism has in any way abated. Political rivalries, however, are never so permanent that they cannot be mitigated once it becomes clear that the rivals face a common threat. By taking a leaf from the book of Mohammed Naguib and resolving their differences, even though it means subordinating self-interest, both Arab and Israeli will provide the most effective answer to Stalin's newest strategy.

Fr. Kearney, S.J., is an associate editor of AMERICA.

## Growing pains and modern poetry

M. Whitcomb Hess

According to Amos Wilder a dozen years ago, in *Spiritual Aspects of the New Poetry*, one reason for the new poetry's claim on Gerald Manley Hopkins is "his sense of the fearful aspects of the mind, if not of society, which the moderns feel." Hopkins is quoted as follows:

O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall  
Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed. Hold them  
cheap  
May who ne'er hung there. Nor does long our  
small  
Durance deal with steep or deep . . .

The modern mind is indubitably preoccupied with itself to an unprecedented and at times to a pathological degree. Out of that sickness have risen various fantastic world-views. For example, Geoffrey Bullough, writing in his *Trend of Modern Poetry* (London, 1949), refers to a "fierce intellectualism" of certain poets who in the modern disintegration of age-old dogmas about nature and life have found such diverse ways of unifying experience as D. H. Lawrence's "life-giving impulses of heart and belly," Ezra Pound's esthetic Absolute, T. S. Eliot's Christian God, Rainer Maria Rilke's death-in-life principle, or the liberals' Socialist paradise. Just the same, Mr. Bullough avers, "poetry is not sick, though it has growing pains."

Poetry as such may not be sick, but altogether too much of what passes for poetry is sick. The British critic cites such poets of the last fifty years as Yeats, De la Mare, Pound, Eliot, Auden and several others, whom he declared worthy to be set beside any poets in any other half-century in English literature since England's civil war. Be that as it may, the very lumping together of the various unifying principles referred to above is evidence enough of something seriously wrong with criticism as well as with the art-work it appraises.

When, in 1952, exceptional tribute was paid Marianne Moore with the Bollinger Prizes for Poetry, the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize, approval of her choice for the prizes was generally couched in the respectful remark: "She speaks to the few." Columnists and academic critics alike seemed to regard this esoteric quality as highly praiseworthy. But is not universality a mark of authenticity in the word-art? The trouble with the bulk of modern criticism is in its own lack of poetic standards for judging. And this lack would seem to stem in part from a misunderstanding of what is a basic philosophical matter: the relation of the human knower to the world outside himself.

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

Only in truly estimating the right relation between the mind and the world it was made to complement in knowledge-matters may the mind's relation to its own truth-source be known for what it is. In his latest poem, the long, charming *Winged Chariot*, De la Mare defines the concept of time as follows:

What is this "time" but term to mark our sense  
Of life's erratic sequence of events,  
Though not their scope and range or consequence;  
And we its centre and circumference?

The whole concept of time with which the De la Mare fancy plays so delightfully remains a strictly empirical, artist-centered one. It might be Rilke himself speaking—Rilke and all the others who accept this confusing, confused philosophy that Kant called a Copernican revolution of his own: where the mind as center of life's "erratic sequence of events" orders them according to its "categories," instead of apprehending "their scope and range or consequence." These lines of the still-living English poet—incidentally a contemporary of Rilke, who died over a quarter of a century ago—epitomize the solipsism that has vitiated our culture for two centuries.

It is not Father Hopkins's influence on the moderns but the influence of the egocentric poets that works havoc in our literature. This havoc, far from representing growing pains, is one of disorientation. Even a cursory glance at the work of certain holders of the poetic title in present-day America is enough to disprove the mere "growing pains" notion. The usual academic critic writing in the magazines exploiting the new forms is inclined to the sophistry that accepts the obscure factor in modern poetry as proof of poetic dynamism. Even so studious a critic as William Van O'Connor believes that "the nature of poetic language invites obscurity." He explains the extraordinary obscurantism of our modern poets in part, also, as follows:

Because of the frustrations suffered in his isolation, in addition, the modern poet to some extent has been tempted to emphasize his separation from society by exaggerating the obscure elements in his poetry, by, in effect, indulging himself in the public-be-damned attitude (*Sense and Sensibility in Modern Poetry*, p. 232)

Mrs. Hess, author of *The Name is Living*, holds degrees from the University of Kansas and Ohio University.



Peter Viereck, appealing to the principles of free individualism in art as well as in politics, can write as the third and last stanza of "Like a Sitting Breeze":

If all the spilt petals could climb like crabs up  
the tree again,  
If hoverers could wait where they want and  
never ever fall,  
I'd stay. Like a sitting breeze, I would. But (petal-  
treading now)  
I'm off to the lonely duel by the water's edge  
again.

Here is an impression of the poetically credible, at least. But compare it with the following lines from e. e. cummings, which are quoted approvingly in Van O'Connor's book:

My father moved through dooms of love  
through sames of am through haves of give,  
this motionless forgetful where  
turned at his glance to shining here . . .  
and should some why completely weep  
my father's fingers brought her sleep . . .

Van O'Connor upholds this nonsense as protesting against our acceptance of stereotypes, against "submission even to language." Such submission is like Margaret Fuller's famous, "I accept the universe," of which Carlyle said, "Gad, she'd better!" The poet takes language as he finds it, exercising his artistic and critical powers to select what will best convey his poetic vision. The symbolistic and imagistic language-selection in much of the new poetry represent neither poetic nor ordinary human vision with any degree of clarity or fullness.

In Henry Steele Commager's late survey of our culture, *The American Mind*, he calls one chapter "The Cult of the Irrational," a term that had already become ubiquitous in literary criticism. He names the sources of this cult as "exclusively European," a charge that is itself a piece of irrationality. For Mr. Commager had already admitted that our native pragmatism (which he otherwise praises) lies open to the serious charge of appealing to the arbitrary, the fortuitous, the irrational; of encouraging illusions and eccentricities, destroying authority and discipline; of playing into the hands of those who exploit the emotions.

Commager is very right, however, in saying that the movement has backed an attack on reason more insidious than any heretofore launched. Robinson Jeffers, cited as showing the inevitability with which an attack on reason leads to nihilism, is quoted as saying in *The Double Axe*: "The whole human race ought to be scrapped and is on the way to it; ground like fish-meal for soil-food." It was suggested above that the irrational betokens defective human sympathy. Here is such defect with a vengeance—indeed it is associated with the diabolic rather than the human nature.

But if Jeffers is a good example of the nihilism inherent in irrationality, it is because he—almost alone

of the cultists—has been open in its declaration. Ordinarily it is as undeclared as the poetry is obscure and ambiguous. The worst thing about the workers of the word-art who deliberately choose the nihilistic, whether in a hidden or open way, is that they not only destroy poetic standards but show rather ominous cracks in the social structure whose form they reflect and propagate.

Not all modern poetry is of the aberrant, *outré*, obscure variety. There is a growing consciousness in American letters which has for some years been combatting the poetic defeatism manifest in obscurantism, spiritual arrogance and decadence in general. Besides individuals laboring in the orbit of Father Hopkins' Christ-centered muse, the Catholic Poetry Society of America and its official organ, *Spirit*, has worked for two decades to establish anew true poetic standards.

At the close of *Spirit's* first decade of publication, Helen C. White, in a high tribute to the evenness of its poetic excellence, warmly complimented the justice done the two realities which are alike indispensable to poetic creation: the poet's unique consciousness, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the relation of the consciousness to the outside world. The superior quality of *Spirit's* pages, which Miss White found so remarkable in its first ten years, continues at the close of its second decade. Perhaps one reason is in what the critic found the chief source of *Spirit's* distinction and achievement: its refusal to substitute piety for poetry.

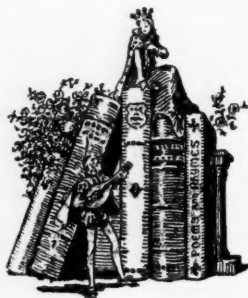
The fundamental conviction that song is a human being's response on the esthetic level to experiences of the truth that "The world is charged with the grandeur of God," might be said to be the leitmotif of this venture. Nevertheless, as Miss White pointed out, *Spirit's* strength is in its recognition that the techniques of prayer and poetry are as different as their objectives are.

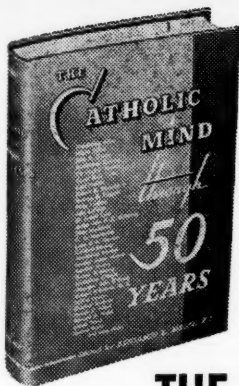
Even so, the language of prayer would seem to be one in which most of *Spirit's* poets are themselves very much at home. If such a language is not familiar to the writers of the new poetry, so much the worse for them.

For, as Father Hopkins himself said of poetry—and the same is true of all other human achievements—"nothing but fine execution lives long." In the word-art, execution involves fineness in the meaning as well as in the music. De la Mare writes of the Child of Avon in the *Winged Chariot*, imagining the gifted young Shakespeare, "caught up 'twixt wake and dream," and

Learning, with words, two wonders to condense—  
A marvellous music, and a matchless sense.

Unless efforts in the word-art are directed to just such a condensation of the two wonders, they may show growth toward something or other, but it is not toward poetry.





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## One of the generalissimi

### TITO

By Vladimir Dedijer. Simon & Schuster. 444p. \$5

Perhaps no other kind of news is so conspicuously absent from the current issues of American newspapers as news about the internal situation in Yugoslavia. In publishing *Tito*, a biography written by Tito's close friend with the help of Tito himself, Simon and Schuster are probably trying to make up for this deficiency. The book, however, tells the reader next to nothing about the present situation in Yugoslavia. Its only subject is Tito.

The person and the achievements of Josip Broz are worth some study—not, perhaps, so much because of his present prominent role as because of his past life. Broz—alias Tito—is a typical Central-European Communist, and we are indebted to Dedijer's eulogy for having revealed some of his typical traits which have not been known so far. It is surprising how close they place Tito to some other prominent Communist personalities. It is known, for instance, of Zápotocký, the Czech Prime Minister, that the Nazis made him supervisor in the concentration camp where he was kept during the war; we are now told by Dedijer that Tito was given such a responsible post in 1915, when he was a POW in Russia.

The Polish Communists, safely hidden during the war, boasted readily, after May, 1945, of their fights

with the Nazis. We now learn from Dedijer that the Nazis, to get rid of their most formidable enemy, Mr. Broz-Tito, sent Storch planes, Heinkels and even Stukas—how many wings, one wonders—to bomb a slope where Tito was hiding, "a place about a mile and a quarter long and about five hundred yards wide." The Austrian Marxist Haberman has explained in his memoirs that he had to part with the Church because as a boy he did not get the new trousers for which he prayed. Tito's reason for the same defection was a slap from an angry priest.

The book tells very little about the liberation of Yugoslavia, and the story of Draza Mihailovich, the real leader of Yugoslav resistance, is left in the dark. Confused details of fighting are heaped upon the reader to cover this inconsistency. Were it not widely known that Mihailovich tried to stop Tito's indiscriminate plundering and killing of all peasants who were relatively only a little better off, the reader of this book would remain in the dark as to the origins of the clash between Tito and him.

What is brought out in full relief is Tito's own cowardliness. Not only before the war did he deny his Communist persuasion before a judge—and Dedijer clearly delights in Tito's masterful lies—but after the war also he seems always to have acted out of fear. The equally cowardly decision of King Peter to throw Mihailovich overboard and to collaborate with the Communists did not satisfy Tito. He was so much afraid of even the

## BOOKS

defeated and isolated Mihailovich that, as Dedijer very well shows, he concentrated all his forces on arresting and executing him. This fear of his penetrates the book itself: letters and documents of all kinds are quoted, but not a single one which in any way concerns Mihailovich's condemnation and death.

Tito's concept of justice is perhaps best revealed in the story of Zujović, a member of the Yugoslav Politburo who sided with Stalin in the Stalin-Tito rift. Dedijer relates that Zujović openly stated his opinion at the decisive session of the Yugoslav Politburo—thus differing from Tito, who, as we have just said, had never been able to state his convictions before his adversaries. Whereupon, to quote Dedijer:

The Government decided that organs of the state authorities were to institute proceedings against him on a charge of treason, and a few days later the public prosecutor ascertained that there were elements of a criminal offense against the security of the state.

In this cardinal statement, the present reviewer likes best the expression "the organs of the state authorities," by which, of course, Dedijer means the bloody OZNA—which, by the way, is not even once mentioned by name in the entire book.

There are some stories in the book which, in addition to their revealing character, have also an amusing aspect. Perhaps the best sample is the story of a pious woman at Ljepoglava who was magnanimously forgiven by Tito for having regularly brought some food to the starving prisoners of his "organs of the state authorities," because, before the war, being on good terms with the guardians, she used to help Tito himself who was then imprisoned there. Lucky lady. Cardinal Stepinac, who had also tried to be on tolerable terms with those passing regimes and helped their prisoners, has not encountered such magnanimity.

To conclude with, Mr. Dedijer, as a special favor, grants us a look into the study of the Great Hero himself. Sitting behind his broad, highly polished desk, he now, "in his own hand," begins to outline the draft of a reply to a letter. He drafts it "on heavy paper, headed: President of the Ministerial Council, Minister of National Defense, Marshal of Yugoslavia

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Josip Broz Tito." Oh, naturally, what other kind of paper could a generalissimo possibly use for a draft?

BOHDAN CHUDOBA

"Unless you see . . ."

## SIGNS AND WONDERS

By Leo Brady. Dutton. 253p. \$3

"He wants to be the big cheese. P. C. L. Carnahan. Prominent Catholic Layman. He's bucking for the Knight of St. Gregory; Knight of Malta. He doesn't fool me." Thus Michael, second son of Andrew Carnahan, in sour but perceptive estimation of his father. If Michael had been a Mauriac devotee, he might well have said that his father was a somewhat less shrill and typically American masculine replica of Brigitte in *The Woman of the Pharisees*.

For Leo Brady, author of the successful *Edge of Doom*, has written a novel that is a study of spiritual self-deception. Andrew is an exemplary Catholic in the eyes of most—he is a four-square and eloquent Communion-breakfast speaker whose trenchant oratory makes Communists quake in their boots, he is in demand to lead various Catholic civic movements, the clergy depend on his loyal support and advice, he has raised a large and successful family, and—crown of joy to him and proof to him of his own deep spirituality—his youngest son is studying to be a priest.

What was not seen—except gradually by some members of his family—was that under his apparent zeal, Andrew has been serving Andrew, not God or the Church. What he was looking for all his busy life were "signs and wonders" which would give him sweet and consoling proof of his own goodness.

What he gets in distressing number as he grows older are challenges to his charity, sympathy and proper tolerance. Son Michael runs into marital difficulties. One daughter, Mary, marries a non-Catholic. Another, Anne, who runs an interracial center, is obviously falling in love with the Jewish manager of a drive-in theatre that Andrew had helped picket for showing an "indecent" film. And John, the priest-to-be, finds out that his vocation has been his father's all along, and leaves the seminary.

To top it all, the young Jew, it turns out, had been given during a war experience a "sign and wonder" such as self-righteous Andrew had never so much as glimpsed. This shattering humiliation, plus a marvelous ticking-off by his ex-seminarian son, serves, as the story ends, to loosen the scales from Andrew's eyes. The impression

left with the reader is that Andrew is coming to see at last that the "signs and wonders" have been all along precisely the calls upon his charity and sympathy which he has smugly ignored.

A second theme runs through this fine story, and it is even more provocative than the first. It is the perennial problem of the psychological and emotional gap between generations, even in matters that touch on the faith each generation holds with devotion and tenacity. Andrew cannot grasp the reason for the spiritual problems of some of his children, nor the longing of others for a Catholic life that runs deeper than Communion breakfasts, picket-lines, lambasting the commies, and so on. "Catholic action" that was good enough for him, he feels, ought to be good enough for them. Mr. Brady suggests this theme without belaboring it; it is certainly a fruitful field for the tilling of American Catholic novelists.

There are many points for praise that could be dwelt on: the story is American to the core and Catholic as deeply; the characterization is good, though perhaps Mr. Brady's least-sharpened tool; any pietistic tone is happily lacking, and the dialog and pace are true and firm.

If Mr. Brady is still a "coming" novelist, he has come a long way from *Edge of Doom* (which was largely derivative). His future course is bound to be interesting; it promises to be exciting.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

## On Poetry and Poets

*In Country Sleep* (New Directions. 34p. \$2) is the latest and probably the best collection of the work of the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas. *Joseph P. Clancy* finds that though the book was probably not planned as a whole, it makes a singularly unified impression. This rises from the dominant theme, which is the "celebration of death as forming in its conflict with life a necessary and strangely joyful part of existence." Thomas' lyrical style is crowded with images and condensed to a density of texture which at times plunges the reader into considerable obscurity, but Mr. Clancy feels that "poetry has never been the clearest way of saying a thing: it exists because it is often the only way of saying something, and *In Country Sleep* deserves highest praise for so often being that only way."

American regionalism finds two voices in Jesse Stuart's *Kentucky Is My Home* (Dutton. 95p. \$2.75) and *First the Blade*, by Candace Thurber Stevenson (Dutton. 61p. \$2.75). In reviewing both books, *Edwin Morgan* judges that, whereas Kentucky may

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probably not deserve all the admiration Mr. Stuart pours out upon it in his simplicity and downrightness, Mrs. Stevenson tempers her love of Vermont with a great deal of New England common sense which is at the same time witty. As opposed to Mr. Stuart's penchant for heavy incantation about the natural beauty of his State, Mrs. Stevenson's descriptions are light and vivid. These gifts make *First the Blade* a noteworthy initial volume.

Ridgely Torrence, who was admired by A. E. Housman and who indeed was often like Housman, has left a fine monument to his realization of the grandeur and nobility of life in *Poems* (Macmillan. 127p. \$2). This is a new edition with several new poems, and *John Fandel*, in appreciation of them, feels that they interpret our own times through the emotion of pity which is "never the pity of sentimentality. . . . Terrence's vision, convinced of the ideal, recognizes the weakness of man. But this realization does not preclude the hope of strength . . . the strength of simple humility, hope and gentleness."

The same critic rates *Collected Poems* by Ivor Winters (Alan Swallow. 143p. \$3.50), as "an achievement few poets of our times have realized. . . . It is the kind of book the common reader should buy; the kind of book our distinguished judges of merit should look at with proper care; the kind of book that should have an endorsement of prizes."

Mr. Fandel's accolade goes likewise to *Horizons*, edited by Mary Hunt, Priscilla Beste and Virginia Coughlin (Exposition. 160p. \$3). This "anthology of Mount Mary student verse" is a good collection and though the book admittedly displays the "prentice hand," it reflects an "important attitude toward the spirit of creative writing in a college—an attitude that is commendable."

An account of the work of eight contemporary French poets is contained in *Contemporary French Poetry*, by Joseph Chiari (Philosophical Library. 174p. \$3.75). He places his poets into the categories of surrealists, individualists and "poets of the Christian myth." The Catholic poets, Paul Claudel and Pierre Emmanuel, are treated a little more roughly than Rimbaud and the other surrealists. In an introduction T. S. Eliot recognizes the dissimilarity among the poets discussed and feels that perhaps a common style may evolve, a consummation which *Doris Grumbach* doubts would be desirable.

Three critiques of prominent American poets follow. *John F. Sullivan* appraises *Edward Arlington Robinson*, by Ellsworth Barnard (Macmillan.

318p. \$4.75), as "thorough, competent and scholarly, if, like its subject, not very spectacular." The first half of the book is devoted to Robinson's poetics, his obscurity, his prosody and the structure of his poems. This is the more impressive half. The second part, attempting a critique of Robinson's "philosophy," unearths merely the fact that if Robinson was "opposed to materialism . . . his own idealism was as cloudy as that of his transcendental forebears." The book achieves a legitimate critical goal, however, in sending its readers to the poems themselves.

Vachel Lindsay was at the opposite pole to Robinson, and *C. Carroll Hollis*, criticizing *City of Discontent*, by Mark Harris (Bobbs-Merrill. 403p. \$4.50), regrets that Mr. Harris, in showing us Lindsay as an interesting man, does not shed much light on the how and why of his poetic achievement. This study is of absorbing interest for one who knows nothing about Lindsay, but in the author's "interest in the man he has been forced to slight the poems which made the man important."

Emily Dickinson is the subject of "a biography" by Richard Chase (William Sloane. 311p. \$4). This is one of the "American Men of Letters Series" and it is predominantly a critical study. In the biographical elements Mr. Chase is "an admirably balanced guide," *John Pick* estimates, but when it comes to ultimate issues, "Mr. Chase appears to be fence-sitting. He can never quite make up his mind whether he agrees with Allen Tate that a powerful imaginative release occurs at the moment when a homogeneous world view (in this case Puritan Calvinism), no longer acceptable as a theology, becomes the exclusive property of the imagination, and that Emily Dickinson came at the propitious moment."

### A GOOD MAN

By Jefferson Young. Bobbs-Merrill. 239p. \$3

Albert Clayton, a Negro tenant farmer in the Piney Woods of Mississippi, is the "good man." He works hard, is a good husband and father and a loyal tenant to his white landlord, Mr. Tittle. And he wants to paint his clapboard shack white. But it is not to be. What he had intended as only an increase in the dignity and beauty of man, is taken as an act of defiance by the whites and a foolhardy gesture by his Negro brothers. The shack remains unpainted, but the good man has not lost. As with all men of love and good will, the defeat of one symbol means the discovery of a greater and

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even more cherished one, for Albert has found his new symbol in nature and in all mankind.

Even such a cursory review of the novel shows how different it is from the usual Southern novel. For one thing, it is a triumph of love and understanding rather than of hate and suspicion. The relationship between the good man and his "boss" as they work together in the fields, and as they face the ignorant and desperate fears of the whites is, we can all hope, a foreshadowing of the relationship between all good men. And, as if this beauty of conception had got itself into his very expression, Jefferson Young writes with a lyric and poetic intensity that makes the locale a place of beauty and inspiration for all good dreams of all good men.

There is just one adverse comment I would make, but it is a serious one. The novel is not long, but it is much longer than it should be. The story is, after all, a simple one, and its elements are obvious and profound. If *The Good Man* were about the length of Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, which it resembles in so many ways, I think it would have been even more successful, for its beauty and message would have been compacted and intensified to a truly lyrical and classical simplicity.

EDWARD J. CRONIN

## THE WORD

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Surely what they had seen and heard should have filled the three apostles with deep faith, boundless courage and strong determination to fulfil the ideals Christ put before them. Yet Peter, James and John were among those who soon after were arguing about which apostle would be the greatest in the kingdom.

They fled when Christ was taken prisoner in Gethsemane, and one of them even denied Him. They would not believe in the resurrection until they had seen the risen Lord.

Yet the transfiguration did have its effect upon the apostles in the way most consonant with human nature and with God's grace. This spiritual favor did not, it is true, instantly change the fundamental characters of these Galilean fishermen. But the memory of Thabor became part of them. With the other marvelous things they saw and heard during the days that our Lord was with them, it gradually made them over into new men who were strong in their faith.

Earnest lay people sometimes come to a priest for spiritual direction, their hearts heavy with discouragement. They have, they say, kept to a program of frequent attendance at Mass, regular self-denial, deliberately Christ-like thought and action. Then some sudden spiritual trial has revealed the selfishness, the weakness of will that still remain in their character. They are no longer sure of themselves nor of their ideal. They are dismayed that so much effort has seemingly been expended in vain.

Let the discouraged man or woman consider Thabor. They will learn that God is not so impatient of results as man is. For many of God's actions in man's soul are but the planting of seed for a future harvest. Growth in holiness is a slow and gradual development. But if man courageously perseveres in his cooperation, God in His good time will see that the fruits are abundant. PAUL A. REED, S.J.

## FILMS

THE LITTLE WORLD OF DON CAMILLO represents an unusual degree of international cooperation between French and Italian film makers, who pooled their talents for the purpose of adapting for the screen Giovanni Guareschi's inimitable series of sketches about the inimitable parish priest from the perhaps inimitable north Italian hamlet.

The film was made in a village on the Po very like Don Camillo's. The director (Julien Duvivier), the scenarist (Rene Barjavel) and the star (Fernandel) are French, while most of the rest of the cast and crew are Italian. As a further international note, both a French- and an Italian-dialog version were shot simultaneously, with some dubbing-in for those of the cast who were not bilingual, and later on an English version with entirely dubbed-in dialog was prepared and shot.

Oddly enough, it is the French version, with conventional English titles, which is being distributed over here. Probably the reason for this decision was that the full flavor of the title role (played by Fernandel who speaks only French) could hardly be communicated adequately through another actor's voice.

In Europe, where as a general rule the people have an embarrassing tendency to ignore their native film products in favor of the Hollywood offer-

ings, the picture has proved an almost unprecedented success. This is hardly surprising, for the subject matter is both very funny and humanly appealing.

What may seem stranger to American audiences is the reputation the film has acquired as an anti-Communist document. To be sure, it is on the side of Don Camillo in his running feud with Peppone, the Communist mayor (Gino Cervi). Nevertheless its Communists are scarcely the undiluted scoundrels that our domestic screen makes them out to be.

To a certain extent this was true of Guareschi's book and is attributable to the unique political and social situation in postwar Italy—in which half of one's neighbors are likely to be Communists; in which the rank-and-file of party followers are largely Communists of the stomach; and in which the babies of party members, as often as not, are presented at the baptismal font. The movie goes somewhat further by avoiding in the screen play most of the situations in the book where Don Camillo got the better of Peppone on explicitly ideological grounds.

As a result, the picture boils down to a conflict between two personalities rather than between opposing philosophies of life. Judging by worldwide reaction, this partial view is one which Christians are better able to tolerate and enjoy than Communists, who have conducted a vigorous campaign against the film. From their point of view I think they were right in opposing it and that its deft and gentle commentary on man's human frailties and essentially spiritual nature

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is effective propaganda for the side of the angels. Nonetheless *adults* may be annoyed by its unnecessary political pussyfooting.

(I. F. E. Releasing Corp.)

ANNA is an altogether less distinguished and responsible piece of Italian film-making which has been exported to these shores, complete with synchronized English dialog, largely because it stars Sylvana Mangano, the young lady who adorned, if that is the right word, the posters for *Bitter Rice*. The film concerns, of all things, a nun. (Run-of-the-mill Italian films are quite often preoccupied with nuns, most of whom inevitably and melodramatically have entered the convent because of blighted love affairs.)

This particular heroine is the selfless and efficient mainstay of a hospital in Rome. She is impelled to recollect her life in the world (in flashback) when the man she once loved is admitted as a patient. Her story is a sufficiently lurid one. She was a less-than-reputable café entertainer who was redeemed and rescued from an infatuation for a bad man (Vittorio Gassman) by the love of a good one (Raf Vallone), only to have her expectation of wedded bliss shattered by her trigger-happy former lover.

Considering its precarious material, the film is done with a certain amount of dignity and comparatively little offensiveness. It has, however, neither the physical realism nor the spiritual insight to save it from being an Italian-style soap-opera.

(I. F. E. Releasing Corp.)

MOIRA WALSH

## THEATRE

THE CRUCIBLE, by Arthur Miller, currently the whiteheaded boy of the American theatre, suffers from its tremendous pre-production build-up as a dramatic counterblast to McCarthyism. It is rather difficult to dissociate the intrinsic significance of the play from the advance publicity. One can easily read anti-McCarthyism between the lines—or anti-any other brand of general hysteria, for that matter. It is easier, however, to take the play at face value as an early American tragedy.

It is a stark and bitter tragedy, based on the witchcraft trials in Salem, Mass., near the end of the seventeenth century. In a community gone wild, where the accuser's is the

only voice that gets a hearing, and law becomes subservient to public clamor, one man defends his personal integrity.

John Proctor, after his wife has been arrested for practising witchcraft, attempts to get her cleared of the accusation, only to find himself charged with the crime. Public furor has reached the pitch where being accused means arrest, and arrest is tantamount to conviction. By the time Proctor is brought to trial, however, the witch hunters, suspecting that they were overdoing the act, begin to temper what they call justice with mercy, offering those who confess to practising black magic a less severe punishment than death.

Proctor refuses to swap a lie for his life. He is hanged for his honesty, but dies holding on to his faith in the ultimate wisdom that controls the universe. Hastening his departure from a world he loves, he returns a cleaner soul to its Maker.

Arthur Kennedy, Walter Hampden and Beatrice Straight are featured in cardinal roles. Mr. Kennedy gives the best performance of his career in his characterization of John Proctor, while Miss Straight is an appealing Puritan housewife. If Mr. Hampden and other performers, except Madeleine Sherwood, are less successful in their roles, it is because most of Mr. Miller's characters are creatures of his intellect, barren of human warmth.

Presented at the Martin Beck by Kermit Bloomgarden, *The Crucible* was directed by Jed Harris. Boris Aronson and Edith Lutyens, respectively, designed the sets and costumes that provide a properly austere background for a Puritan tragedy.

ON BORROWED TIME. While American drama, compared with that of such a mite of a nation as Ireland, is nothing to brag about, we are slowly accumulating a stockpile of first-rate plays that will eventually enrich the international stage. Paul Osborn's fantasy, the story of a man who temporarily evaded death, is practically certain to be included in our contribution to the world's roster of plays of permanent interest.

Gramps Northrup, the leading character, is approached by Death, who calls himself Mr. Brink, while he has some unfinished business on his hands. He is not reluctant to die, but wants to live long enough to guide his orphaned grandson past the perils and pitfalls of boyhood and youth. To obtain the needed extension of life, Gramps lures Mr. Brink into climbing his magic tree, which anybody can climb, but from which a trespasser cannot descend without the owner's permission. While Mr. Brink

is what in street parlance is called "up a tree," nothing can die in the world except such unfortunate creatures as the birds and butterflies which blunder into the tree.

Originally produced in 1938, the comedy has been revived by Richard W. Krakeur and Randolph Hale, in association with William G. Costin Jr., and presented by those gentlemen at the 48th St. Theatre. Marshall Jamison directed and scenery, lighting and costumes were designed by Paul Morrison. All parties concerned have done well in their respective crafts, and the producers had the good sense or good luck to engage Victor Moore to play Gramps, starring him in the role.

Though the leading character indulges in more profanity than he should, *On Borrowed Time* is a rather fragile comedy compounded of humor, tenderness and pathos. It requires sensitive handling to prevent the humor from slipping into clowning, the tenderness from becoming maudlin or the pathos from descending to bathos. Mr. Moore handles the brittle texture of the fantasy with a feathery touch, and he is ably supported by Leo G. Carroll as Mr. Brink, Beulah Bondi as Granny, and John David Stollery in the role of Pud.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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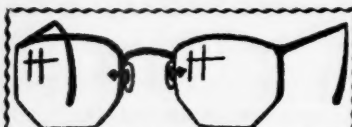
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Louis R. Williamson, St. Mary's Parish,  
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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Pocket-size books

**EDITOR:** I have just finished reading  
Fr. Gardiner's article on the Gathings  
Committee's report on lewd literature  
(AM. 2/7). He approaches the prob-  
lem with clarity and good sense.

May I, however, protest the use of  
our corporate name—Pocket Books,  
Inc.—in a way which tends to be de-  
rogatory. Maybe I am being a little  
too touchy, and on your front cover  
you were referring to wallets in the  
subtitle to the article, "Of publishers,  
profits and pocket-books."

In view of the amount of indigna-  
tion now current it does not seem un-  
usual to ask for more complete clarity.  
We feel that we are being rather badly  
stepped on by being continuously  
lumped with others whose principles  
we do not share and whose products  
we would not defend.

FREEMAN LEWIS

*Executive Vice-President*  
*Pocket Books, Inc.*

New York, N. Y.

**EDITOR:** Anent the editorial in your  
Dec. 20 issue regarding the control of  
lewd literature, I have an additional  
suggestion which may inspire some of  
your readers. In two instances this  
method has proved successful.

Observing a vending machine dis-  
playing salacious pocket-size books in  
the waiting room of a New York Cen-  
tral R.R. station in Manhattan, I wrote  
to the president of the road calling  
his attention to what I considered a  
breach of ethics for a common carrier.  
My reward was a courteous reply and  
the subsequent removal of the offen-  
sive material.

On another occasion, I saw a similar  
display in one of a chain of well-known  
coffee shops. A letter to the president  
of the company was answered prompt-  
ly, thanking me for calling his atten-  
tion to the sale of offensive pocket-  
sized books in the store and promising  
to have this corrected by an order to  
the distributor to ship only such books  
as conformed to the standards of the  
store.

It is my opinion that in many cases  
the presence of such merchandise in  
reputable retail chains, since it is a  
minor item, owes its existence to the  
fact that the officials of these corpora-  
tions give little or no thought to the  
harmful effects produced, but they are  
amenable to any reasonable suggestion  
if appealed to by a personal letter.

HERBERT S. GELPCKE

Bronx, N. Y.

### Postcard apostolate

**EDITOR:** The good ladies of Carmel,  
Calif., who leave Catholic magazines  
in doctors' waiting rooms (Correspon-  
dence, 2/7), might like to insert  
"Father Edgar Ryan Cards" in the  
magazines. These are prepaid return  
postcards addressed to the Passionist  
Preparatory Seminary, Normandy, Mo.  
Each contains a number of questions  
often asked about the Church by non-  
Catholics, and promises answers if the  
card is signed and mailed.

In the several years the plan has  
been operating, 382 persons have  
taken instructions by mail. The Litera-  
ture Committee of the Archdiocesan  
Council of Catholic Men, 4371 Lindell  
Blvd., St. Louis 8, will be glad to  
give details. LAWRENCE M. REILLY  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Engineer shortage

**EDITOR:** Congratulations on your edi-  
torial, "Engineers in short supply," on  
p. 471 of the Jan. 31 issue. It indicates  
you are at last beginning to realize  
that Universal Military Training is an  
instrument for the waste of essential  
manpower.

About ten years ago I sat next to  
M. M. Boring (whom you mention)  
and listened to a five-star general tell  
us that all wars were won by the foot  
soldier. Therefore, he concluded,  
gather everyone in and make all do  
their share. At the question period,  
Mr. Boring sent up this question:  
"Who is to make the equipment for  
the soldiers?" The answer was: "That  
is your responsibility, not ours." No  
wonder engineers are in short supply.

GEORGE L. SULLIVAN

*Dean, College of Engineering*  
*University of Santa Clara*  
Santa Clara, Calif.

**EDITOR:** With reference to your Jan.  
31 Comment on the shortage of en-  
gineers, I should tell you that employ-  
ers now come to our College of  
Engineering at the close of each  
semester in order to engage, if pos-  
sible, those boys who have been  
dropped for poor scholarship.

I am really sorry for the recruiting  
officers of the engineering companies.  
Their employers probably put an im-  
mense amount of pressure upon them  
to recruit engineering graduates, but  
the graduates simply are not there.

CLEMENT J. FREUND

*Dean, College of Engineering*  
*University of Detroit*  
Detroit, Mich.

## Dear Reader,

Fifty years old last January, the *Catholic Mind* is not (we hope) showing signs of senescence. Certainly it doesn't feel its age. On the contrary, its editors are at the moment spurred on by the fine reception given *The Catholic Mind Through Fifty Years* to intensify their efforts. Frankly, we had some misgivings about publishing a commemorative volume. Not that we doubted that from the gleanings of a half-century a good, substantial book could be put together. But would the public buy and read it? That was the question which bothered us.

We are happy to report that all our fears have proved groundless. While it was still in galley form, the editors of the Catholic Book Club chose *The Catholic Mind Through Fifty Years* for their January selection, and, despite its size (704 pp.) and price (\$5), it has turned out to be one of the club's more popular choices. The critics, too, have been more than kind, so kind, in fact, that even Fr. Mulhern, our business manager, seems satisfied. As for the reading public, God bless every one of them. Already they have sent the book into a second printing.

So we are in a mood to start our second half-century with more vigor and confidence than ever. We feel that the need for the *Catholic Mind* is, if anything, greater today than when it was first published. There is a definite awakening in the world (among non-Catholics as well as among Catholics) to the true nature of the crisis by which this generation is convulsed. There is a growing realization that what is at stake today in the struggle against Communist imperialism is not territory, or commercial advantage, or even considerations of prestige and power. What is at stake is our very way of life—our fundamental concepts of man and the world in which he lives, our philosophy and our theology.

Now the *Catholic Mind* deals with those concepts. It deals with them as they come from the Vatican, restated with clarity and authority for the men of our day. It deals with them as they come from our bishops and other spiritual leaders, adapted to the circumstances of each country. It deals with them as they come from scholarly laymen intent on remolding the institutions of society in the likeness of the principles we profess.

Many AMERICA readers are also subscribers to the *Catholic Mind*. They appreciate that AMERICA is intent on the news of the week, and has neither the space nor the time to expound in detail the premises which underlie its judgments on men and affairs. Week after week, with a deadline staring them in the face, the editors of AMERICA must call the turn on NATO, the Taft-Hartley Act, the National Education Association, the latest congressional probe of communism, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the Schuman Plan and dozens of other newsworthy events and developments. Rarely do they have elbow-room to spell out the spiritual and moral principles which guide the premises of their syllogisms.

For this reason misunderstandings sometimes arise and, as Fr. Hartnett explained last week (AM. 2/21, p. 556), letters from readers occasionally cross his desk which plainly reveal an ignorance of the philosophy on which AMERICA takes its stand.

Although no one in the office has ever seriously investigated the question, we feel sure that the writers of such letters are not *Catholic Mind* subscribers. For the *Catholic Mind* was founded precisely to explain the broad principles which guide AMERICA's editors, and which an informed Catholic must bring to a consideration of the events of the day. Those who read the *Catholic Mind* regularly may differ from time to time with AMERICA on a specific piece of legislation, or on a particular labor-management dispute, or on a new development in the UN. But the difference will arise over an application of a principle, not over the principle itself.

Here at headquarters, we like to think of AMERICA and the *Catholic Mind* as complementary. Being a monthly, the *Catholic Mind* can afford to proceed at a leisurely pace. It can set forth in detail, can analyze and dissect, the whole body of the Church's social philosophy. To a great extent it can ignore the breathless rush of daily events.

There is nothing leisurely about AMERICA. It stands right in the midst of events, judging them even as they go rushing by. It, too, is concerned with principles, but mostly leaves them unstated and unexplained. That is why we think that many AMERICA readers who do not know the *Catholic Mind* might be happy to make its acquaintance. To do so costs them only \$3 a year.

Benjamin L. Masse, Jr.

Executive Editor,  
The Catholic Mind

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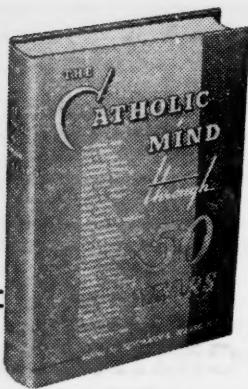
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Plus XI Book Shop, 45 Franklin St., Boston 10  
St. Thomas More Lending Library & Book Shop, 33  
Church St., Harvard Square, Cambridge 38

Blessed Martin Book Shop, 383 Spring St., Fall River  
Irving F. Ephraim, 80 Franklin St., Worcester 8

## MICHIGAN

Conventual Press Bk. Dept., 3245 Jct., Detroit 10  
Gustave A. Fuchs Co., 1326 Brush St., Detroit 26  
Madonna Book Shop, 8020 W. McNichols, Detroit 21  
Krieg Brothers Church Supply House, 1414 Farmer  
St., Detroit

E. J. McDerritt Co., 1230 Washington Blvd., Detroit  
26

Van Antwerp Chr. Lib., Chancery Bldg. 2nd Fl., Det. 26  
De Sales Cath. Book and Gift Shop, Tobin's Religious  
Goods House, 135 E. Fulton St., Grand Rapids 2  
Hollindes Rel. Art. & Lib., 1457 Jefferson, Kalamazoo

## MINNESOTA

The Cloister House, 8 South Sixth St., Minneapolis 3  
Philomathian Library Book & Church Store, 100 West  
Oakland Ave., Austin

St. Paul Book & Stationery Co., 55 East Sixth St.,  
St. Paul

Catholic Gift Shop, 37 So. 8th St., Minneapolis

The E. M. Lohmann Co., 413-417 Sibley St., St. Paul 1

Karl F. Conrad, 108 W. 3rd St., Winona

## MISSOURI

Cath. Com. Bookshop, 301 E. Armour Blvd., Kan. C. 2  
I. Donnelly Co., 1121 McGee, Kansas City 6  
Doubleday Book Store, 310 No. 8th St., St. Louis 1

The E. J. Dunne Co., 2805 Kingshighway Blvd., St.  
Louis 15

B. Herder Book Co., 15 & 17 So. Bdw., St. Louis 2

## NEBRASKA

Mid-West Church Goods Co., 1216 Farnam St., Omaha

## NEW JERSEY

J. B. Relly, 57 Halsey St., Newark 2

Our Lady's Press Mart, 20 Monroe St., Passaic

Whitman Book & Record Shop, 114 No. Bway, Camden

## NEW YORK STATE

Catholic Union Store, 428 Main St., Buffalo 2

Colonial Bookshop, 253 Wall St., Kingston

The Lourdes Shop, 187 Quail St., Albany 3

Blessed Sacrament Bkshp., 77 Centre Av., New Rochelle

Tucker's, Inc., 300 East Main St., Rochester 4

Trant's, Inc., 96 Clinton Av. N., Rochester 4

The Madonna Shop, 1602 Union St., Schenectady 9

The Rosary Shop, 774 Eastern Av., Schenectady 8

Syracuse Catholic Shop, Inc., 210 E. Jefferson St.,  
Syracuse 2

Taga Book Shop, 53 Fourth St., Troy

O'Shea Religious Gifts, 454 So. Salina St., Syracuse

## LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

The Queen's Catholic Shop, 135-29 Northern Blvd.,  
Flushing

Walsh Church Goods, 164-01 89 Ave., Jamaica

## BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The Ave Maria Shops, 166 Remsen St., Brooklyn 20

Catholic Literature Guild, 5918 5th Av., Brooklyn 30

## NEW YORK CITY

Ave Maria Shop, 11 Barclay St., New York  
Benziger Bros., Inc., 6-8 Barclay St., New York 8  
Catholic Book Shop, 138 W. 32nd St., New York

Peter Auer Co., 26 Vesey St., New York 7

Doubleday Book Store, 2 W. 38th St., New York 38

Doubleday Book Store, Penn Station, N. Y. 1

Doubleday Book Store, 655 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 22

Doubleday Bk. Store, Grand Central Terminal, N. Y. 17

Engel & Sharkey, 334 Park Ave., New York 22

Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 14 Barclay St., N. Y. 8

P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 12 Barclay St., New York 8

Stamm's for Books, 212 Broadway, New York 38

R. H. Macy & Co., Herald Square

B. Altman, 34th St. & 5th Ave.

The Guild Studios, 148 W. 32nd St.

The Paraclete Book Center, 1329 3rd Ave.

## OHIO

Benziger Bros., Inc., 429 Main St., Cincinnati 1

Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 436 Main St., Cincinnati 3

The Catholic Book Store, 906 Superior, Cleveland

The Cathedral Bookshop, 205 E. Broad St., Columbus

Sweeney's Relig. Gds. Store, 951 Lagonda, Springfield

## OREGON

Catholic Book & Church Supply, 314 S.W. Washington  
St., Portland 4

The King's Bookhouse, 1011 S.E. 84 Av., Portland 16

## PENNSYLVANIA

De Sales Book Shop, 4726 Baltimore Av., Phila. 43

Catholic Cultural Center of Pittsburgh, 407 Market St.,  
Pitts. 22

H. L. Kilner & Co., 1214 Arch St., Philadelphia 7

Kirners Cath. Book Store, 309 Market St., Pitts. 22

Diocesan Guild Studios, 800 Wyoming Av., Scranton 3

Peter Reilly Co., 131 No. 13th St., Philadelphia 7

## TENNESSEE

St. Mary's Bookstore, 508 Deaderick St., Nashville 8

## TEXAS

Canteen Book Store, La Porte

Noel Cath. Supplies, 1118 Houston St., Fort Worth

## VIRGINIA

Religious Goods Shop, 123 N. 8th St., Richmond 19

## WASHINGTON

The Kaufer Co., 1904 4th Av., Seattle 1

De Sales Cath. Bookshop, So. 10 Wall St., Spokane 4

## WEST VIRGINIA

H. D. Corcoran Co., 2127½-2129 Market St., Wheeling

## WISCONSIN

The F. Kaster Co., Inc., 321 Pine St., Green Bay

Carl B. Noelke Co., 531 Main St., La Crosse

Cardin Co-op Bookstore, 737 N. Water, Milwaukee 2

The Church Mart, Inc., 779 N. Water St., Milw. 2

The Fatima Shop, 12 Waugoo St., Oshkosh

## CANADA

The Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 67 Bond St.,  
Toronto, Ontario

F. J. Tonkin Co., Ltd., 103 Princess St., Winnipeg,  
Manitoba

## IRELAND

Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 21-22 D'Olier St.  
Dublin C. 5

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